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THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS OF ENGLAND;

INCLUDING,

The WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,

An accurate and lively Description of the SIEGES, BATTLES, BOMBARDMENTS, SEA-ENGAGEMENTS, EXPEDITIONS, and extensive CONQUESTS, of the BRITISH ARMS, in all Quarters of the Globe.

WITH A VARIETY OF

Interesting and extraordinary ANECDOTES of Military Skill and Intrepidity, heroic Adventures, brilliant Exploits, martial Achievements, and memorable Actions, of the BRITISH WARRIORS,

CALCULATED

To inspire the Rising Generation with MAGNANIMITY and VIRTUE, and to IMPRESS on their MINDS the generous ARDOUR and NOBLE EMULATION of their ANCESTORS.

NONE BUT THE BRAVE DESERVE THE FAIR.

V O L. III.

ORNAMENTED WITH ELEGANT COPPER-PLATES.

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PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY CHAMPANTE AND
WHITROW, JEWRY-STREET, ALDGATE; AND AT THE
BRITISH DIRECTORY OFFICE, AVE-MARIA-
LANE, St. PAUL'S.

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TO IMPROVE THE MILITARY GENIUS WITH MAJOR NINETY AND VIRTUE
AND IN VIEWS ON THE MINDS OF THE YOUNG ARMY AND NOBLE
FAMILIES OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

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LONDON, ST. PAUL'S.

THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY
HISTORY
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WARS OF ENGLAND.

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF THE
STUARTS CONTINUED.

AMONG other instances of the governing views which actuated the republican leaders at this time was an act which was passed, called The Self-denying Ordinance; by which it was enacted, that no member of the house of commons should have a command in the army. The chief reason for passing this law, was to deprive the parliament of a motive to continue the war from a view of retaining their commissions in the army. Hereupon the former generals were changed; the Earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, who was still suffered to retain his seat, new-modelled the army without controul.

In 1645, a negociation was again set on foot between the king and parliament, and the commissioners met at Uxbridge on the 30th of January; but it was soon found impossible to come to any agreement. The demands of the parliament were exorbitant; and, what was worse, their commissioners owned them to be no-

thing but preliminaries. The king was required to attain, and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scots, together with all the Popish recusants who had borne arms for him. It was insisted that forty-eight more, with all the members of either house who had sat in the parliament called by the king at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or, if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if royal authority was not sufficiently annihilated by these terms, it was demanded that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without consent of parliament. A little before the commencement of this fruitless treaty, the parliament, to shew their determined resolution to proceed in the same haughty imperious method in which they had begun, brought to the block Archbishop Laud, who had long been a prisoner in the tower, and was incapable of giving offence to any.

While the king's affairs thus went to decay in England, they seemed to revive a little in Scotland, through the conduct and valour of the Earl of Montrose, a young nobleman newly returned from his travels. He had been introduced to the king; but, not meeting with an agreeable reception, had gone over to the covenanters, and been active in forwarding all their violence. Being commissioned, however, by the *tables*, to wait upon the king while the army lay at Berwick. he was so gained by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that

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that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service. For attempting to form an association in favour of the royal cause, Montrose was quickly thrown into prison; but, being again released, he found the king ready to give ear to his counsels, which were of the boldest and most daring kind. Though the whole nation of Scotland was occupied by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration, he undertook by his own credit, and that of the few friends who remained to the king, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige those malcontents to recal the forces which had so sensibly thrown the balance in the favour of parliament. The defeat at Marston-moor had left him no hopes of any succours from England; he was therefore obliged to stipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, having used various disguises and passed through many dangers, arrived in Scotland, where he lay for some time concealed in the borders of the Highlands.

The Irish did not exceed eleven hundred foot, very ill armed. Montrose immediately put himself at their head; and, being joined by thirteen hundred Highlanders, attacked Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with six thousand men, utterly defeated him, and killed two thousand of the covenanters. He next marched northwards, in order to rouse against the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons, who had taken arms before, but been suppressed by the covenanters. At Aberdeen, he attacked and entirely defeated Lord Burley, who commanded two thousand five hundred men. Montrose, however, by this victory, did not obtain the end he proposed; the Marquis of Huntly shewed no inclination to join an army where he was so much eclipsed by the general.

Montrose was now in a very dangerous situation. Argyle, reinforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind him

him with a great army. The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Ross, and Caithness, to the number of five thousand, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to save his troops, he turned aside unto the hills; and, after some marches and countermarches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-castle; and here, after some skirmishes, in which he was always victorious, Montrose got clear of a superior army, and by a quick march through these almost inaccessible mountains put himself absolutely beyond their power.

It was the misfortune of this general, that very good or very ill fortune were equally destructive of his army. After every victory, his Scots soldiers went home to enjoy the spoil they had acquired; and, had his army been composed of these only, he must have soon been abandoned altogether: but his Irishmen, having no place to which they could retire, adhered to him in every fortune. With these, therefore, and some reinforcements of the Atholmen and Macdonalds, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, letting loose upon it all the horrors of war. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing himself to be still at a good distance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, and a body of five thousand newlevied troops, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with total destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the covenanters. Argyle alone, seized with a panic, deserted his army. They made a vigorous resistance, however; but were at last defeated and pursued with great slaughter: after which Montrose was joined by great number of Highlanders; Seaforth's army dispersed of itself; and the Lord Gordon, eldest son to the Marquis of Huntly, having escaped from his

his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose with a considerable number of his followers, attended by the Earl of Aboyne.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at these victories, sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England; and, joining him in command with Urrey, sent them with a considerable army against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely attached to the covenant; and, having carried it by assault, had given it up to be plundered by his soldiers; when Baillie and Urrey with their whole force came upon him. He instantly called off his soldiers from plunder; put them in order; and secured his retreat by the most skilful measures; and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, without stopping, or allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment, at last secured himself in the mountains. His antagonists now divided their forces, in order to carry on the war against an enemy who surprised them as much by the rapidity of his marches as by the boldness of his enterprizes. Urrey met him with four thousand men, at Alderne, near Inverness; and, trusting to his superiority in numbers (for Montrose had only two thousand men), attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose, having placed his right wing in strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed by shewing a few men through trees and bushes with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his wing to the charge, made a furious attack on the covenanters, drove them off the field, and obtained a complete victory over them. Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's defeat; but he himself met with the like fate at Alford. Montrose, weak in cavalry, lined his troops of horse with infantry; and, after putting the enemy's horse

horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, which were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royalists.---Having thus prevailed in so many battles, which his vigour always rendered as decisive as they were successful, he prepared for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a total period to the power of the covenanters, and dissipate the parliament, which with great pomp and solemnity they had ordered to meet at St. Johnstone's.

It is now time to return to the army in England,--- Upon the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance, Cromwell was to have lost his command, and came to Windsor to take leave of the new general, Sir Thomas Fairfax; but such interest had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at Westminster, or they were so sensible of his rare talent for war, that they had sent orders to General Fairfax to detach a party of horse to lie between Oxford and Worcester, for intercepting the correspondence between the king and Prince Rupert, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-general Cromwell for that service; who went away with a good party of horse and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's horse under the Earl of Northampton and Goring, at Islip-bridge, killed several, and took five hundred horse, and two hundred prisoners, whereof several were officers and persons of quality, as also the queen's standard, besides many other trophies of honour. He pursued the routed remnant to Bletchington-house, where Colonel Windebank commanded; who being summoned by victorious Cromwell, and persuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to visit her, surrendered the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was shot to death at Oxford by sentence of a council of war.

About the same time also, Cromwell forced Sir William Vaughan and Lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with
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three hundred and fifty men, into Bampton-bush, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men, prisoners, with their arms; and sent Colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horse, three colonels, and forty common soldiers, prisoners, with their arms. Being afterwards reinforced by about five hundred foot from Colonel Brown's garrison at Abington, Cromwell attempted the reducing of Farringdon-house, and stormed it; but it was so gallantly defended by Sir George Lisle, that he was forced to draw off, having lost fifty of his men; and in his retreat he was attacked by a party of Lieutenant Goring's horse, lately come from the siege of Taunton, who got from him three colours, and took Major Bethel prisoner.

It was now ordered by both houses, that Lieutenant-general Cromwell should be dispensed with for his personal attendance in the house, and continue his service and command in the army for forty-days longer, notwithstanding the late ordinance. This was much spoken against by Essex's party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue whom they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former self-denying pretences.

Fairfax began his march in order to relieve Taunton. But the committee of both kingdoms, understanding that Prince Rupert was advancing towards Oxford, ordered him to stop his march, and send only a party of about three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to Taunton, whilst he with the rest of his army marched back to join Cromwell and Brown, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king, being joined by Prince Rupert, marched into Worcestershire, and designed to relieve Chester, which had been a great while besieged by the parliament's forces under Sir William Brereton; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of Ches-

ter, raised the siege, and returned into Lancashire. Upon this, the king diverted his course towards Leicester, and, coming before the place, took it by storm.

In the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that General Fairfax should invest Oxford, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near Oxford and laid siege to it, having his own quarters at Marston, Cromwell at Wileham, and Brown at Wolvercott. After fifteen days spent without action, the parliament, being startled at the loss of Leicester, sent express orders to Fairfax to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

The king was marching from Leicester with design to relieve Oxford; but, hearing the siege was raised, he returned towards Northampton, causing great terror to the associated parts. Cromwell, before the breaking up of the siege, had been called from thence to the Isle of Ely, to support the association, and was shortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: but, upon a resolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, desiring them to dispense with Cromwell's absence from the house, and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horse. The parliament, being sensible of his great usefulness in the field, readily complied with this request, and accordingly commissioned him lieutenant-general of horse to the whole army. Hereupon Cromwell, being recruited with six hundred horse and dragoons, came out of the associated parts, and joined with Fairfax and his main army at Gillsborough.

The king, having tarried a little at Borough-hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and designed to march to Pomfret, thinking, if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he should fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being sent out with a flying party of horse,



Parreel del.

The Battle of Naishy.

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horse, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in Naseby town, and took many prisoners, some of Prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade; which gave such an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for security hastened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here, calling upon Prince Rupert, he summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerness, old commanders being much against it) to give the enemy battle; and, since Fairfax had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. Accordingly being come near Naseby, there they found him; and both armies, being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king the main body; the Earl of Lindsey and Jacob lord Astley the right-hand reserve, and the Lord Bard and Sir George Lisle the left reserve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by Lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by Colonel Ireton, the main body by General Fairfax and Major-general Skippon, who fought stoutly, though sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-west side of Naseby, above a mile broad; which space of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being disposed, on June 14, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royalists word being, "God and Queen Mary," and the others, "God with us." Prince Rupert gave the first charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great resolution. Ireton made gallant resistance, but was forced at last to give ground, his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert,

and taken prisoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chased the enemy almost to Naseby town, and in his return summoned the train, and visited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of Marston-moor, his long stay so far from the main body was no small prejudice to the king's army: for Cromwell in the mean time charged furiously on the king's left wing, and that with good success, forcing them from the body, and, prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reserve; after which, joining with Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's and got possession of their ordnance, and thought themselves sure of victory; but being now in confusion, and having no horse to support them, they were easily overborne by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by Prince Rupert, returned from his fatal success; but the horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy: upon which the Lord Clarendon says, "That this difference was observed all along in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell (it having never been remarkable under Essex or Waller, but only under them), That though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day; which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the place; so that they were forced at last to quit the field, leaving a complete victory to the parliament's party, who pursued them within two miles of Leicester;

ter; and the king, finding the pursuit so hot, fled from thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and then to Litchfield, and so for a safer retreat into Wales.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naseby, in which the wonderful success of the parliament party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke through the enemy's squadrons with such rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him. It is said, that in this action, a commander of the king's, knowing Cromwell, advanced briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till, their pistols being discharged, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad-sword, chanced to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now, just going to repeat his stroke, Cromwell's party came in and rescued him; and one of them, alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and so fought with it during the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

The king's loss in this battle was irreparable; for, besides that there were slain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thousand arms, and other rich booty; among which was also his majesty's own cabinet, where were repositied his most secret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which shewed how contrary his counsels with her were to those he declared to the kingdom; for in one of them he declares his intention, "to make peace with the Irish, and to have forty thousand of them over into England to prosecute the war here;" and in another he complains, "That he could not prevail with his mongrel parliament at Oxford to vote that the two houses at Westminster were not a lawful parliament;"

parliament;" so little thanks, as one observes who was no enemy to his majesty, had these noble lords and gentlemen, for exposing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adversity; what then might they expect if he should prevail by conquest? In those letters also, he tells the queen, " That he would not make a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she sent him; that in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, though they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament." These and many other papers relating to the public, were printed with observations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houses, who also made a public declaration of them, shewing what the nobility and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect.

The battle of Naseby was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period the king's affairs became desperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and most sensibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no sooner gained this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they soon overflowed the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leicester was immediately regained without any considerable opposition, by General Fairfax, on the 7th of June. From thence they marched to the relief of Taunton, which, being besieged by Goring's army, had made a wonderful resistance under the command of the valiant Blake. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, (July 10,) Goring drew off his army towards Langport; and, being master of the several passes on the river, hoped to have declined fighting, and secured his retreat towards Bridgewater: but the others drew down their ordnance with such advantage, that, whilst they did great execution on Goring's army, their

their foot resolutely gained the pass, and the horse advanced over; when they so bravely engaged the enemy, that they soon put them to flight, charging them almost to Bridgewater. Cromwell in this action shewed much prudence as well as courage; for he would not suffer part of the horse to pursue the enemy, till they were all come up together; and then, himself leading them on, performed the work with such success, that he killed three hundred, took almost all their ordnance, and made fourteen hundred prisoners.

After this victory, it was resolved, in a council of war, to storm the strong garrison of Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the assault on the 22d of July, and forced a surrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garrisons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the south coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime, and Langport; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts.

The rapine and violence practised by the royalists in the western parts, had occasioned the rising of a third kind of army, which suddenly starting up in divers counties, assembled to the number of five or six thousand of the middle-sort of men. These soon had the name of Club-men, and were encouraged by several gentlemen of the country, who entertained particular hopes from this insurrection. The motto of their colours was,

If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
Be assur'd we will bid you battle.

This army of club-men for some time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themselves. But having, for some months, stood upon their own defence, and molested

lefted both armies, they were at last very seasonably suppressed and dispersed by the parliament forces under Lieutenant-general Cromwell; who, together with Fairfax, daily gained ground in those parts.

Bristol was a place of very great importance, which Prince Rupert, with about five thousand horse and foot, held for the king. It was now therefore thought requisite to besiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general, being come before it, summoned Prince Rupert to deliver up the town; but, upon his refusal, it was advised by Cromwell and some other chief officers to storm part of it: which accordingly was executed with so much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a second assault, but immediately surrendered that great and well-fortified city to the parliament general; whereby the king lost all his chief magazines and warlike provisions, and consequently in a short time South-Wales and all the west of England. Upon this his majesty wrote a sharp letter to Prince Rupert, in which he says, "I must remember you of yours of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, some where beyond seas; to which end I herewith send you a pass," &c.

The Scots, in the mean time, having made themselves masters of Carlisle after an obstinate siege, marched southwards and invested Hereford; but were obliged to raise the siege on the king's approach. And this was the last glimpse of success that attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones, his rear was attacked by Pointz, and an engagement immediately ensued. While the fight

was

was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, Jones fell upon them from the other side, and defeated them with the loss of six hundred killed and one thousand taken prisoners. The king with the remains of his army fled to Newark; and from thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season.

After the surrender of Bristol, Cromwell, taking with him a brigade of four regiments, marched to the strong castle of the Devizes, whose natural strength was much improved by the ingenuity of its governor, Sir Charles Lloyd, who, looking upon it to be almost impregnable, returned no other answer to Cromwell's first summons, but "Win it and wear it." But, as if nothing could be a sufficient defence against this victorious commander, whose very name began now to strike terror to his enemies, the governor was soon brought to terms, and forced to deliver up the place to him.

After this, Cromwell hastens to Winchester, and in his march disarms and disperses the Hampshire clubmen thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortified; but, after a short dispute, he fired the gate, and his men entered. This done, he summoned the castle; which not surrendering, he planted six guns, and, after firing them round, sent a second summons for a treaty, which they also refused. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred shot, and then the governor, the Lord Ogle, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison for Cromwell, agreed upon articles for delivering up the castle into the hands of the parliament. Here an instance is given of Cromwell's faithfulness in his punctual observance of articles; for it is said, that, being informed that some of his men had been faulty in this respect, he caused one of them to be hanged to the terror of others, and sent the rest to Oxford, that the governor Sir Thomas Glemham might punish them as he thought fit; who is said with

generous acknowledgements to have returned them to Cromwell again.

His next attempt was upon Basing-house, a very strong place. It was the mansion of the Marquis of Winchester, a Papist, standing on a rising ground, and encompassed with a brick rampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch surrounding it. Here the marquis stood upon his guard, assisted at first only with his own family and a hundred musqueteers from Oxford; but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occasion. This garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain; first by Colonel Norton and Colonel Harvey; next, by Sir William Waller with seven thousand horse and foot; who, though many then called him William the Conqueror, did little more than increase the courage of the besieged, who made many furious sallies upon him. Thus the place stood for some years out-braving all attempts, till Cromwell endeavoured the reducing of it, which he very soon effected; for having seen the Lord Ogle, the late governor of Winchester, march out according to articles, and settled the affairs of that garrison for the parliament, he the next day marched for Basing; where being arrived, after planting the batteries, and settling the several posts for a storm, his men fell on with great resolution. Colonel Pickering stormed the new house, and passing through, got the gate of the old house; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament soldiers would not regard. In the mean time, Colonel Montagu's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments recovered the strongest work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduced with very little loss on the parliament's side. Seventy-four of the royalists were slain, among whom were some officers of quality, divers of them Papists. Two hundred were taken prisoners,
among

among whom was the marquis himself, Sir Robert Peak, and several other officers. They took about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and provisions, and there was rich pillage for the soldiers, of money, jewels, household stuff, &c. For these important services, the house ordered a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

The next place Cromwell visited, was Langford-house, near Salisbury; but Sir Bartholomew Pell having had information of what he had done at Basing, and expecting no better success, submitted at the first summons.

From hence he marched towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards Exeter, with a design to lay siege to it: where being arrived, he advanced farther westward towards the enemy, and at Bovy-Tracy fought the brigade commanded by Lord Wentworth, taking four hundred horse, and about a hundred foot, prisoners, with six standards, one of which was the king's.

The design upon Exeter being for the present laid aside, the army under Fairfax and Cromwell appeared before Dartmouth, and took it by storm; which being done, they encountered Lord Hopton at Tarrington, and gave him an absolute defeat; and then pursued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where Prince Charles had his own regiment, and other Cornish troops, which composed a body of about five thousand horse and one thousand foot: but, not able to resist the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he embarked with several lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the isle of Scilly. His troops were left under the command of Lord Hopton, who was so pressed upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to disband on the 14th of March; soon after which Exeter was surrendered to the parliament. And now Lieutenant-general Cromwell came up to London from the general, to advise

about the future motion of the army; and, taking his place in the parliament, received the thanks of the house for his great and faithful services.

Fairfax and Cromwell having thus scoured the west, and only Newark remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and desperate condition. The royalists in Oxford had indeed still some little hopes from a party commanded by the Lord Astley, which were the only forces in the field for the king; but these hopes soon vanished; for, being encountered by Col. Morgan near Stow-on-the-would, he was entirely defeated, himself and almost all his men being taken prisoners. Astley was so sensible of the consequence of this defeat, that, when he was taken, he said to one of the parliament-officers, "You have now done your work, and may go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves."

At last, news arrived, that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was defeated; and thus the only hope of the royal party was destroyed. When that brave general descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilsyth. Here he obtained his most memorable victory: six thousand of the covenanters were killed on the spot, and no remains of an army left them in Scotland. Many noblemen, who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it when they saw a force able to support them. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the Lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest was Lord Ogilvy, son to Airly, whose family had contributed very much to the victory gained at Kilsyth.---David Lesley was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced

advanced still further to the south, allured by the vain hopes, both of rousing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxburgh, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was very deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Lesly, at Philip-haugh in the forest, surprised his army, much diminished in numbers from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, to secure their plunder. After a short conflict, in which Montrose exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Lesly's cavalry, and he himself forced to fly to the mountains.

Nothing could be more affecting than the situation in which the king now was. He resolved to grant the parliament their own terms, and sent them repeated messages to this purpose, but they never deigned to make him the least reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which, if he would consent, they should then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations. Fairfax, in the mean time, was advancing with a victorious army in order to lay siege to Oxford; and Charles, rather than submit to be taken captive and led in triumph by his English subjects, resolved to give himself up to the Scots, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest. After passing through many bye-ways and cross-roads, he arrived in company with only two persons, Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, at the Scots camp before Newark, and discovered himself to Lord Leven their general.

The reception he met with was such as might be expected from these infatuated bigots, destitute of every principle of reason, honour, or humanity. Instead of endeavouring to alleviate the distresses of their sovereign, they suffered him to be insulted by the clergymen. They immediately sent an account of his arrival to the English parliament, and they as quickly entered into a treaty

treaty with the Scots about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots thought this a proper time for the recovery of their arrears due to them by the English. A great deal was really owing them, and they claimed much more than actually belonged to them. At last, after various debates between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many punctilios, it was agreed, that, upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds, the Scots should deliver up the king to his enemies; and this was cheerfully complied with. Thus the Scots justly fell under the censure of having sold their king, who had thrown himself upon their mercy; a stain peculiar to the nation, and unparalleled in history either ancient or modern. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scots parliament, that they once voted that the king should be protected and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed; and pronounced, that, as he had refused to take the covenant which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. In consequence of this, the parliament were obliged to retract their vote. The king, being delivered over to the English commissioners, was conducted under a guard to Holdenby, or Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he was rigorously confined; his ancient servants being dismissed, himself debarred from visits, and all communication cut off with his friends or family.

The civil war being over, the king absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear but their own troops. From this quarter their only danger arose; and it was not long before they found themselves in the same unfortunate situation to which they had reduced the king. The majority of the house were presbyterians, but the majority of the army were independents. The former, soon after the retreat of the Scots, seeing every thing

reduced to obedience, proposed to disband a considerable part of the army, and send the rest over to Ireland. This was by no means relished, and Cromwell took care to heighten the disaffection. Instead of preparing to disband, therefore, the soldiers resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. The commons voted that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, &c. and threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. The army now began to set up for themselves. In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company to represent the commons, and these were called the Agitators of the Army; and of this assembly Cromwell took care to be a member. The new parliament soon found many grievances to be redressed; and specified some of the most considerable. The commons were obliged to yield to every request, and the demands of the agitators rose in proportion. The commons accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations. Cromwell, in the mean time, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby castle, under the command of one Joyce, originally a taylor, but now a cornet; and by this man was the king conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath near Cambridge. Next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy.

The manner in which Joyce proceeded in taking the king was the most brutal than can be conceived.

On

On the 4th of June, 1647, about midnight, he drew up his horse in order before Holmby-house, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and Major-general Brown, who, being alarmed, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and business, he said his name was Joyce, a cornet in Colonel Whalley's regiment, and his business was to speak with the king. Being asked from whom, he said, "From myself, my errand is to the king, I must and I will speak with him." Greaves and Brown commanded their men within to stand to their arms; but they, seeing them to be their fellow-soldiers of the same army, opened the gates, and shook hands with them as old friends. The cornet placed his centinels at the commissioners chamber doors, and went himself by the back-stairs directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms, being much surprized, desired him to lay aside his arms, and assured him, that in the morning he should speak with the king: but he with sword and pistol insisted to have the door opened, and made so much noise that it waked his majesty, who sent him out word, "That he would not rise nor speak with him till the morning;" upon which the cornet retired. The king, getting up early in the morning, sent for him, who with great boldness told his majesty, he was commanded to remove him. Being asked for a sight of his instructions, he told his majesty "he should see them presently;" so, drawing up his troops in the inner court, "These, sir," said he, "are my instructions." The king took a good view of them; and, finding them to be proper men, well mounted and armed, told the cornet with a smile, "His instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling." The king, seeing Lord Fairfax and Cromwell soon afterwards, asked them, Whether they had commissioned Joyce to remove him? They affected to deny it. "I will not believe you," replied Charles, "unless you hang up Joyce immediately."

The

The commons now saw the designs of the army; but it was too late, all resistance was become vain: Cromwell advanced with precipitation, and was in a few days at St. Alban's. Even submission was now to no purpose; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as these demands were gratified, till at last they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

Cromwell began with accusing eleven members of the house, the very leaders of the presbyterian party, as guilty of high treason, and being enemies of the army. The commons were willing to protect them; but, the army insisting on their dismissal, they voluntarily left the house. At last the citizens of London, finding the constitution totally overturned, and a military despotism beginning to take place, instead of the kingly one they were formerly afraid of, began to think seriously of repressing the insolence of the troops. The common council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned; and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city-militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote they had so lately passed. The assembly was, of consequence, divided into two parties; the greater part siding with the citizens; but the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. Accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two of the members, secretly retired from the house, and put themselves under the protection of the army, who were then at Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole force of the soldiery, to the number of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their places.

In the mean time, the part of the house which was left resolved to resist the encroachments of the army.

They chose new speakers, gave orders for enlisting troops, ordered the train-bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was at a distance; for, when Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission: the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers and the rest of the members peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the tower: several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines about the city levelled with the ground; and the command of the tower was given to Fairfax.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who remained a prisoner at Hampton-court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the presbyterians, in name of both houses, on the other, treated with him separately in private. He had sometimes even hopes, that, in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom at last, being sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would of its own accord be hushed into its former tranquil condition. At this time he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants; his chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved, and was heard to declare, that he never beheld such an affecting scene before. But these instances of respect were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the king was treated not only

with the greatest disrespect, but even kept in continual alarms for his own personal safety. The consequence of this was, that Charles at last resolved to withdraw himself from the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 11th of November 1647, attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-court, and his escape was not discovered till near an hour after, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. All night he travelled through the forest, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton, where resided the countess dowager, a woman of honour, to whom the king knew he might safely entrust his person. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the sea-coast; and expressed great anxiety that a ship which he seemed to look for had not arrived. He could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: the question was, what measure should next be embraced? In the neighbourhood lay the Isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwell, which was a very unfavourable circumstance: yet, because the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond the king's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good reputation in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king lay concealed, till they had first obtained a promise of him not to deliver up his majesty, even though the parliament and army should require him; but restore him to his liberty, if he could not protect him. The promise would have been but a slender security: yet even without exacting it, Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Tichfield; and the king was obliged to put himself into

his hands, and to attend him to Carisbroke-castle in the Isle of Wight, where, though he was received with great demonstrations of respect and kindness, he was in reality a prisoner.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, Cromwell found himself upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes, by having his own principles turned against himself. Among the Independents, who in general were for no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called Levellers, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Jesus Christ. Though this would have gone down very well with Cromwell as long as it was only directed against his enemies, he did not so well relish it when applied to himself. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before them at the head of his red regiment, which had hitherto been deemed invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant? he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitant schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. Instead of obeying, however, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot, and sent others to London; and thus dissipated a faction no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

Tumults and insurrections still increasing, and all things seeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary to preserve a good understanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the house of lords, to assure them of the army's submission, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houses, and by their order. Being likewise afraid of the city, he

he proposed in the house of commons to unite the interests of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he said) invincible, by making them inseparable. So a treaty was set on foot, in which indeed the army was not mentioned, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon some disturbances there should be withdrawn; but the treaty only mentioned the two houses, and the city: and this conjunction was sufficient for Cromwell at present; for he thereby prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royalists; and besides, the power which the army had in the house, was at this time sufficient to secure the city to them.

The first that actually took up arms, were the Welsh; and this they did under the conduct of Major-general Laughorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powel, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's side: but, being now to be disbanded by order of the council of war, they refused to obey; and, the better to secure themselves, declared for the king, and acted by commission and powers from the Prince of Wales. Major-general Straddling, and other royalists, joining with Laughorn, he soon had the appearance of a considerable army, which very shortly enabled him to possess himself of the town and castles of Pembroke and Tenby; at which time Chepstow-castle was likewise surprized by Sir Nicholas Kemish. The preparations in Kent for a war were not less formidable; for great numbers in that county rendezvousing near Rochester, they chose Goring earl of Norwich, who was then with them, for their general; and they soon received a considerable addition to their strength, by great numbers of apprentices and reformed officers and soldiers daily flocking from London to their quarters; which so frightened the two houses, that they presently restored to the city their militia; and, Skippon being re-admitted

to

to the command of the forces, they interrupted the communication with Kent, by placing guards upon the passages of the river. The increase of the Kentish forces so animated the seamen, that, in the latter end of May, 1649, the sailors of a squadron lying in the Downs revolted against their commander Rainsborough; whom they set ashore, together with some other officers disaffected to the royal cause. Being supplied with provisions by the king's friends in Kent, they steered their squadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the Duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The Prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he resided with his mother, was no sooner informed of this incident, than he repaired to Helvoetsluys, and, going on-board the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He sent his brother to the Hague, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army, when it should enter that kingdom. Arriving at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance, whereupon he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Meanwhile the Earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince, and anchored his ships so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought inevitable. The Prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed in order to attack the earl; but the wind falling, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution. Warwick was reinforced with some fresh ships, and, the royal fleet being in want of provisions, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whither the parliament fleet followed him.

The Earl of Warwick, on his arrival off the coast of Holland, sent to the States, insisting that they should oblige the ships which had revolted from the parliament of England, and taken refuge in their ports, to put
to

to sea. This demand embarrassed the States, as they were not willing to break with the parliament, neither did they choose to expose the revolted fleet to the resentment of their pursuers: they, at length, determined not to comply with the English admiral's demand, and ordered all their naval force to sea to prevent an engagement between the two squadrons. Warwick, finding that his menaces were not effectual, quitted the Dutch coast, and returned home.

The command of this small squadron, now reduced to fourteen ships, badly manned and equipped, was given to Prince Rupert, with which he carried on a pyrrhical war, and, after some time successfully cruising in the channel, he retired into the port of Kinsale.

But the fiercest storm was threatened from the preparations making in the north, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale and others of the king's party having surprized the strong town of Berwick, and Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Thomas Glemham that of Carlisle, had raised a considerable body to join with the Scots, who were now about to enter England with a powerful army. Besides this, the Earl of Holland, with the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Francis his brother, the Earl of Peterborough, and some other persons of quality, having formed a party of about five hundred horse with some foot, for his majesty's service, appeared with them near Kingston, and declared against the parliament. Several castles were seized and declared for the king; and among the rest Pomfret was artfully surprized by Major Morrice: and there was scarcely a county in England, where there was not some association forming to appear in arms for the king.

These vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to those at Westminster; who hereupon appointed a committee of safety for the commonwealth, which daily sat at Derby-house, and consisted of twenty persons, viz. seven lords, and thirteen of the house of commons, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell

well was one. This committee had power given them to suppress all tumults and insurrections, and for that end to raise forces as they saw occasion. And then, for the more speedy suppression of the several insurrections, the army was divided, and small parties sent to those places where the royalists were weakest. Fairfax, Lambert, and Cromwell, commanded the rest, every one marching a several way; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert into the north, and Cromwell into Wales, who was afterwards to march into the north and join Lambert.

The Earl of Holland and Duke of Buckingham were soon defeated by a party of horse and foot that was sent after them, under the command of Sir Michael Livesey. The earl was taken prisoner; the duke, after losing his brother, the Lord Francis, narrowly escaped, and went over to France. The Earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by parliament, fell down the river towards Prince Charles, who with the revolted ships had blocked up the mouth of the Thames, where he lay some time in expectation, presuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: but perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was mistaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the sail he could for the coast of Holland. The castles of Deal and Sandwich were reduced by Colonel Rich; and many of the revolted ships returned to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time General Fairfax routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, and drove the Lord Goring with his men into Essex; where, though joined by the Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and others, Fairfax forced them to shut themselves up in Colchester, where he besieged them, and lay before the place a long time; but, having compelled them at last to surrender upon such conditions as he would allow them, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were shot to death by sentence of the council of war,

war, and the Lords Goring and Capel were sent prisoners to Windsor-castle.

Cromwell's business, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in Wales. In order to effect this, he sent Colonel Horton thither before him, with about three thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, he himself following with as many forces as could be spared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that Laughorn, with an army of near eight thousand men, had engaged him at St. Fagon's in Glamorganshire; that upon the first charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards, reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royalists, where the best of Laughorn's men were, with such fury and resolution, that they obliged them to give way; which those in the rear, being mostly new-raised men, perceiving, they began to shift for themselves: upon which Horton's men prosecuted their advantage with so much vigour and success, that the whole body of their enemies was soon routed, fifteen hundred slain, and near three thousand taken prisoners.

Upon this Cromwell hastens to join him; and in his march comes before Chepstow, where they drew out some forces against him: but Colonel Pride's men fell on so furiously that they gained the town, and beat the soldiers into the castle; which being strongly fortified, and well provided, Cromwell sent to Bristol for some great guns, and, hastening into Pembrokeshire, left Colonel Ewer to prosecute the siege; who, having made a breach on the 25th of May, resolutely attacked and carried the castle sword in hand; Sir Nicholas Kemish, who commanded there, being slain, and an hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

Cromwell, being arrived in Pembrokeshire, first ordered the storming of Tenby with Colonel Overton's regiment, and part of Sir W. Constable's, commanded

by Lieutenant-colonel Read; and so, after several furious assaults, the town first, and then the castle, surrendered at discretion.

Laughorn and Powel, after their defeat by Colonel Horton, escaped to Pembroke, which Poyer kept for them. Here they thought themselves safe, when Cromwell, appearing, besieged them himself in person in that place: but that dreadful name did not so discourage them, but that being fully persuaded that the stopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had so much work on their hands elsewhere, they resolved to stand out, and defended themselves long enough to have wearied out almost any other man, as little used to be baffled as Cromwell. On the contrary, the rumour of the Scotch invasion, daily increasing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his skill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. The garrison within was strong and resolute, and the place well fortified, which however he was resolved to attempt by storm; and, falling on with singular courage, met with gallant resistance: after which, not thinking it adviseable to expose his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not so well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induced to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the small quantity of provisions they had in the town and castle; and then, divisions began to arise amongst them, which at length grew to that height, that the soldiers were ready to mutiny against their commanders; crying out, "We shall be starved for two or three men's pleasures, better it were that we should throw them over the walls." Accordingly, Cromwell ordered strict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out; which order being well observed, they were compelled at length to desire a parley, and on the 11th of July surrendered the town and castle to him upon articles. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, and some other officers, surrendered

surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. Sir Charles Kemish, Sir Henry Stradling, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within six weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the rest to have the liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plundered. The sick and wounded were to be taken care of; the towns-men not to be plundered, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and, together with the town and castle, the arms, ammunition, and provisions, were to be delivered up to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the use of the parliament. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, were afterwards condemned by sentence of a court-martial; but, having the favour to draw lots which of them should die, the other two to be spared, the lot fell upon Col. Poyer, who was accordingly shot to death in Covent-garden.

Cromwell's authority was greatly increased by thus suppressing the insurrections in Wales; but it became irresistible in consequence of a new and unexpected addition to his successes. The Scots, perhaps ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated farther by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the Earl of Hamilton: while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the more bigotted party who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his separate body, and both invaded the north of England.

The house of commons, receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declared them to be enemies, and ordered Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having completed the reduction of Wales, Cromwell marched towards the north with all his power; and sent to Major-general Lambert, desiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and joined him. Lambert therefore skilfully endeavoured, rather to harass the Scotch army than to fight it; and chose rather

to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminished, and often separated to their great disadvantage; all which was owing either to dark designs in the army, divisions, or weak management.

Whilst Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treason was framed against him by Major Huntingdon, with the advice of some members of both houses; he was accused of endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. But it being manifest, that the preferring such an accusation at that time was chiefly designed to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more easily prevail against them; the parliament thought it most adviseable to discountenance any thing of that nature.

To proceed: Cromwell having joined Lambert, both armies met on the 17th of August, near Preston in Lancashire. The English in the Scotch army had the honour of the van, and for a time engaged Cromwell's men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously pressed upon by them, that they were forced to retreat to a pass, which they endeavoured to maintain, whilst they sent to the duke for succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; though Langdale afterwards declared, "That if one thousand foot had been sent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day;" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, "That he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did." The Scots perceiving the disorder their English friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursued by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several prin-

cipal officers of their foot were likewise taken, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Many of their horse fled towards Lancaster, and were pursued near ten miles with great execution. Hamilton marched away in the night, with about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and Cromwell followed him with about three thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, killing and taking several in the way; but, by the time the rest of his army was come up, Hamilton recovered Wigan, before they could attempt any thing against him. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the enemy, who the next morning marched towards Warrington, and made a stand at a pass, which for many hours was disputed with great resolution on both sides: but at length Cromwell beat them from their standing, killed about one thousand of them, and took about two thousand prisoners. He pursued them home to Warrington town, where they possessed themselves of the bridge; but, Cromwell coming thither, Lieutenant-general Bayley desired to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, "That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c." which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thousand complete arms and as many prisoners, and Hamilton's infantry was totally ruined; who with his remaining horse marched towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and killed several; and Cromwell sent post to Lord Grey, Sir H. Cholmley, and Sir Ed. Roade, to gather all together with speed for the pursuit of the enemy. And so Hamilton, being pressed upon by the country, fled at last to Uttoxeter in Staffordshire; where, with about three thousand horse which he had with him, he was taken, and sent prisoner to Windsor-castle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occasioned so much terror, was routed and defeated;

defeated; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Cromwell with an army amounting to scarcely above a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodness of his troops, making amends for the smallness of the number, which was not diminished half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the English under Langdale had been beaten. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the most part, taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursued them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his men, who continued with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, was discovered; and, being taken prisoner, was conveyed to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he had afterwards the good fortune to escape.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell, having thus defeated the Scots under Duke Hamilton, resolved to prosecute the advantage, by marching with all possible speed against Monro, who was come into England, as a reserve, with above six thousand horse and foot, and had marched almost to the borders of Lancashire: but having notice given him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking that he should be able to stand before him, who had just before defeated an army so much exceeding his own, he made what haste he could back into Scotland.

Cromwell now resolved to prosecute his victory to the utmost, by entering into Scotland itself, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatened any further disturbance. It was generally believed, that the Marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for, notwithstanding Hamilton's defeat,

his

his brother the Earl of Lanrick still bore the sway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which Monro had raised for the recruit of the duke's army were still together, which the few forces raised by Argyle were not able to oppose. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, it is certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all possible haste to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Cromwell with his victorious army continuing his march to Scotland, in his way reduced Carlisle and Berwick to their former obedience, both being delivered up to him on composition. Being just ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them should force from the Scotch people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they should behave themselves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any.

Cromwell marched directly for Edinburgh, and in his way was met by many of the Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of estates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy achievements; acknowledging that his presence would conduce much to the composing of the distractions of the kingdom.

He had not been long at Edinburgh before he demanded of the committee of estates, that they would seclude from all public trust, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote, Duke Hamilton's late invasion: to which the committee gave a satisfactory answer. Several other demands were likewise made by him, with which the committee complied; and he reserved liberty for the parliament of England to make such further demands as they should think requisite. Whilst he staid with them, the committee sent an order and command to Monro to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he
soon

soon perceived that Cromwell must be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obeyed the orders of the committee.

Cromwell, having thus finished what he came about, began to prepare for his return to England; but, before he left them, the committee fearing some new disturbance might arise after the departure of the English army, requested that he would leave some forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any insurrections; promising, that when they had raised a sufficient force for their own defence, they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed Major-general Lambert, with three regiments of horse, for the said service.

On the 16th of October, Cromwell left Edinburgh, being conducted several miles on his way by the Marquis of Argyle and many others of the Scotch nobility; and at their parting great demonstrations of affection passed between them. Cromwell, arriving at Newcastle with his army, was nobly treated there, and welcomed with great guns, ringing of bells, and other rejoicings. From hence he bent his course directly to Carlisle, having first ordered some forces for strengthening the siege of Pontefract or Pomfret-castle. This place, though not very large, was very considerable for its strength, but most remarkable for the valour of those who defended it, whereby it became famous all over the kingdom. The garrison consisted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horse, all bold and resolute men, as appeared by their actions. One time a party of horse, issuing out of the castle, took Sir Arthur Ingram, and, carrying him in, obliged him to pay one thousand five hundred pounds for his ransom, before he could get out again. At another time, Capt. Clayton and most of his troop were seized upon by them, and made prisoners. They likewise fetched two hundred head of cattle, with many horses,

into

into the castle, whilst Sir Henry Cholmeley lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldest action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one): one morning before day, there sallied out about forty horse, who hastened away to Doncaster, where Colonel Rainsborough, who had a commission to command in chief before the castle, then quartered. Being come near the town, three of the party, leaving their companions without, with great confidence marched in, and enquired for Colonel Rainsborough's quarters; which being informed of, they entered, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from Lieutenant-general Cromwell. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their prisoner; but, upon his refusal to go silently with them, they run him through with their swords, so that he immediately expired. And, although his forces then kept guard in the town, these bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the castle in the middle of the day.

To repress these insolent proceedings, Cromwell, immediately after he had settled the rest of the northern parts in peace and quietness, came to the leaguer himself; and having ordered the several posts for a close siege, which put a stop to their thus ranging abroad, he left Major-general Lambert, who was just come out of Scotland, with a strong party before it, to complete the work, whilst himself took his march directly for London, where he began to think his presence very necessary for the completion of his designs.

The king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbroke-castle, continued to negotiate with the parliament for settling the calamities of the kingdom. The parliament now saw no other method of destroying the military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abo-

lish episcopacy, though he consented to alter the liturgy. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, and the parliament for the first time seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations. But all was now too late. The victorious army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced to Windsor, and with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. The unhappy monarch had been lately sent under confinement to that place; and from thence he was now conveyed to Hurst-castle in Hampshire, opposite to the Isle of Wight. The parliament in the mean time began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition to these military encroachments, when they were astonished by a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit next day with his whole army; and in the mean time ordering them to raise him forty thousand pounds on the city of London.

The commons, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still the courage to resist, and to attempt in the face of the whole army to finish the treaty they had begun with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and, though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with great vigour. After a violent debate which lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of 129 against 83, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in settling the affairs of the nation. This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house; and, seizing in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above one hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of parliamentary rights commonly passed by the name of Pride's

Pride's Purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, to complete the wickedness of this parliament, but to murder the king. In this assembly, therefore, composed of the most obscure citizens, and officers of the army, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved, that an high court of justice should be appointed, to try his majesty for this new-invented treason. For form's sake, they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the upper house; but there was virtue enough left in that body unanimously to reject the proposal. The commons, however, were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary, and that the people were the origin of all just power. To add to their zeal, a woman of Herefordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation she pretended to have received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had permitted his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune

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and decay. He had long been attended by an old decrepid servant whose name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. He could not, however, be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

From the 6th to the 20th of January was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly composed of the principal officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw a lawyer was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorilaus, Steele, and Alke, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall. When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still maintained the dignity of a king. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war; after which Bradshaw directed his discourse to him, and told him that the court expected his answer.

The king began his defence with declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from what he had now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper-house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. He alleged that he was himself the king and

fountain

fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that, having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them by recognizing a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing, before a proper tribunal, to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution. Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted, that they had received their authority from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the king not to decline the authority of the court that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and over-ruled him in his attempts to reply. In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created tribunal, he desired, before sentence was passed upon him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber; with design, as it is thought, to have resigned his crown to his son, the Prince of Wales: upon which the judges retired for half an hour to consider of his request; and then returning they ordered the king to be brought again to the bar; when the president told him, that what he had proposed was but a further denial of the jurisdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of justice; and, if he had no more to say, they would proceed to judgment. And the king answering, he had no more to say, Bradshaw made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, "That the people have the supreme power, and the house of commons is the people." This speech being ended, and the charge again recited, sentence was pronounced in these words: "For all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant,

tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his head from his body."

At his return to Whitehall, Charles desired permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxton late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for execution. Every night between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and, calling one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the banqueting-house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant Bishop Juxon, a man of the same mild and steady virtues with his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of Colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masks. The people, in crowds, stood at a greater distance. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and, as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars: he observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example; and that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority entire which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker: he owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence against the Earl of Strafford.

At the high Court of Ju
Steuart King of En

Whereas Charles Steuart King of England is and
and other high Ornaments And sentence
severinge of his head from his body Of wth sentence
requires you to see the said sentence executed
this instant month of January between the hours of
day just full of set And for so doing this shall be your
and other the good people of this Nation of England to be
Seals

_____		Har: Waller	Hen Smyth
_____			Per. Pell
_____		John Blakiston	Ri Dec
Jo: Bradshawe		Hutchinson	Robert Jackson
Tho Grey		Willigoff	_____
O Connell		Thorne	Daniel: Blag
Edw. Whalley		De Temple	Owen Row
		Harrison	William J
		Hewson	Ed: Scro
			James J

003 — 40
Court of Justice for the trying and indyng of Charles
1st of England January 23th Anno Dni 1648. /

and is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of high Treason
was pronounced against him by this Court to be putt to death by the
unto execution yet remaineth to be done These are therefore to will and
open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the Thirtieth day of
June of Term in the mornings and fives in the afternoons of the same
all be your sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Soldiers
and to be assisting unto this Service Given under 8 hands and

Wm Smyth
Per. Pelham
Ri Deane
bert Icalborne
Blagrawie
VEN ROWE
Wm Jernson
S: Scrope
ames Temple

Harland
Edm: Ludlow
Henry Marten
Wm: Fottel
Wm: Constable
Rich Ingoldsby
Wm: Cowley
Jo Barkstead
Waa Ewer
John Dixwell
Walsingham Wauton

Symon Mayne
Tho: Horton
Jones
John Deme
Gilbt Millington
Cfleeewood
J. Hlured
Rob Silburne
will Jay
Anth Hapley
Gre Norton
Tho. Challoner

Tho: wogan
John Deme
Jo: Dounes
Tho Wayte
Tho: Scot
Jo: Carcu
Miles Corbet

ford. He forgave all his enemies; exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor; and signified his attachment to the Protestant religion as professed by the church of England. So strong was the impression made by his dying words on those who could hear him, that Col. Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert. At one blow his head was severed from his body. The other executioner then, holding up the head, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Charles was executed on the 30th of January 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well-proportioned. His visage was pleasant, but melancholy; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. He was buried at Windsor.

Captain Hewlet was condemned, after the restoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons who stood masked upon the scaffold, though several creditable witnesses deposed, that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman, had confessed and owned that he executed the king, and that he affirmed as much to the Lord Capel, when he suffered by the same axe; and Captain Hewlet offered to make it appear, that he was not then upon the scaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was seized and secured for refusing to be there. Notwithstanding this, Hewlet was found guilty by the jury; but was reprieved: and, if we may believe what Lilly writes in his own life, it was the resolute Joyce (who seized the king at Holmby) that struck the fatal stroke. The account that Lilly gives, is as follows:—"The next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, secretary to the Lieutenant-general Cromwell, invited himself to dine with me, and brought
Anthony

Anthony Pierfon and feveral others along with him to dinner. Their principal difcourfe was, who it was that beheaded the king: one faid it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others were alfo nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as foon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carrying me to the fouth window faid, Thefe are all miftaken, they have not named the man that did the fact; it was Lieutenant-colonel Joyce: I was in the room when he fitted himfelf for the work, flood behind him when he did it, and, when done, went in again with him. There is no man knows this but my mafter Cromwell, Commiffary Ireton, and myfelf."

The king, in all his fufferings, fhewed a calm and compoled firmnefs, which amazed all people; and the rather, becaufe it was not natural to him. He had many indignities offered him, efpecially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatnefs of mind, without diforder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as Bifhop Burnet obferves, he died greater than he had lived, and fhewed, that which has often been remarked of the whole family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than profperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaftity, and an utter enemy to all kinds of debauchery; and, if he had any perfonal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he fplit, was an immoderate defire of power, beyond what the conftitution allowed. His reign, both in peace and war, was a continual feries of errors: he was out of meafure bent on following his humour; but unreafonably feeble to thofe whom he trusted, efpecially the queen. His friends regretted the afcendant ſhe had over him on many occafions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious husband. He had certainly a fixed averfion to popery; but was much inclined to a middle way between the Pro-
teftants

testants and Papists; whereby he lost the one without gaining the other. In short, his whole conduct was such, as verified this maxim, "That errors in government have ruined more princes than personal vices."

During this reign, the French had paid great attention to their marine, and viewed with a jealous eye the progress which the English made in maritime strength. The jealousy of the Dutch was also excited against England from the dominion which it claimed over the narrow seas, the exclusive right of fishing in particular latitudes, and the respect required to be paid to its flag. The Dutch were very averse to acknowledge these claims on the part of England; and the learned Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise, under the title of *Mare Liberum*, wherein he discovered great abilities in shewing the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea, which he asserted was a gift from God common to all nations. This treatise was answered by Mr. Selden, in a book which he intitled *Mare Clausum*; wherein he demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired; he likewise proved, from the most authentic historians, that such dominion had been claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others, for their common benefit: that this, in fact, was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who at all times, and in every form of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed, such a dominion, which had been confessed by their neighbours, frequently, and in the most solemn manner. This work maintained, with great depth of learning, force of argument, and strength of judgment, that the inhabitants of this island of Great Britain possess an hereditary, uninterrupted, right to the sovereignty of the seas, conveyed to them by their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity. This famous book was published in 1634, and met with the warm patronage of King Charles.

The silk manufactures of London were also, by this time, become so considerable, that in 1629, they were incorporated by Charles I. under the name of Master, Warden, Assistants, and Commonalty, of Silk Throwers of the city of London, and within four miles of it. The suburbs being now encreased to an amazing extent, and vast numbers of regular tradesmen being of necessity obliged to exercise their avocations there, without the advantage of being ranked as citizens and members of the corporation of London, the king, in 1636, "incorporated all the tradesmen and artificers inhabiting such places of the city of London as are exempted from the freedom thereof; as also, those of the out-parts of Westminster and Middlesex, within three miles of the said city of London, excluding for the future all such persons as shall not have served seven years to their respective occupations, as well as all foreigners, from exercising their respective trades, in order to save those places from being pestered with inmates, and to prevent the prejudice done to such as were freemen of London." These suburbs were, therefore, added to the jurisdiction of the lord mayor.

The colony of Maryland was planted in 1632, a country hitherto accounted part of Virginia. King Charles made a grant of it to Cæcilius Calvert, afterwards created Lord Baltimore, and whose father had been secretary of state to King James. The king himself named it Maryland, in honour of his queen Henrietta-Maria. "Charles the First," says the Abbé Raynal, "from having an aversion for the catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Queen Elizabeth and King James I. These circumstances

stances induced Lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. But as he found there no toleration for an exclusive system of faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time, but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with cheerfulness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour. The view of the peace and happiness which they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore likewise granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in this new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country."

Some English families about the same time ventured to settle on the island of Antigua (or Antego) in the neighbourhood

neighbourhood of St. Christopher's, although it was for some time reckoned uninhabitable, because it had no fresh-water brooks, or scarcely any other but rain water preserved in ponds or cisterns. And for that reason it was soon after deserted by them, and remained uninhabited till after the restoration.

About the year 1639, a new East-India company was set on foot in England, to which King Charles granted a licence to trade in all parts of India, where the old company had not settled any factories, for the term of five years.

The state of the public navy, in the summer of 1645, appears from an authentic list published by order of parliament to have been as follows:

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
1 Ship (Vice-admiral Blyth) of	875	280	50
1 Ditto of	600	170	40
1 Ditto (Rear-admiral Owen) of	575	170	40
1 Ditto of	557	170	38
1 Ditto of	520	170	38
1 Ditto of	559	160	38
1 Ditto (Vice-admiral Batten) of	650	260	36
1 Ditto of	512	160	36
1 Ditto of	500	150	36
	5348	1690	262

The rest consisted of seventeen smaller ships, from four hundred tons, one hundred and ten men, and twenty-eight guns; down to eighty tons, forty-five men, and eight guns. So that there was only one ship which might now, in our times, be admitted into a line of battle. The Royal Sovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps several other large ships of war, were either still under the king's command, or else were not then thought necessary to be put into commission. There were also six pinks and frigates, of each fifty tons burden, and eighteen merchant ships, from four hundred and five tons, one hundred and twenty-

twenty-one men, and twenty-nine guns, down to one hundred and six tons, fifty men, and twelve guns. Probably this was the chief part of the parliament's naval force. At this time arose a great coolness and jealousy between the parliament and the Dutch republic; the Hollanders, through the interest of the Prince of Orange, having shewn a great partiality to the cause of the king, which produced a very warm remonstrance from that assembly. It was therefore soon found necessary to increase the marine of England.

From the year 1645 we may date the commencement of private banking, which originated with the Goldsmith's Company. The proper business of the London goldsmiths had always been to buy and sell plate, bullion, and foreign coins of gold and silver; to melt and cull them; to coin some at the mint; and with the rest to supply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, as they found convenient to the advantages of trade. But, in consequence of the civil broils which broke out about this period of King Charles's reign, the merchants and principal traders began to lodge their money in the goldsmiths hands, for its greater safety. This became so much the fashion, that in a very short time the banking scheme constituted a very considerable branch of business. The goldsmiths began to discount merchants bonds and bills, both in town and from the country; and also began to receive the rents of gentlemen's estates remitted to town, and to allow them, and others, who put cash into their hands, some interest for it, if it remained only for a single month. This was a great allurements to people to put out their money, and an invention that quickly brought an immense quantity of cash into their hands; so that they were enabled to supply government, as the bank of England now does, with temporary sums, for which these bankers took ten per cent. and on bills, tallies, orders, and debts due to the king, they sometimes got from twenty to thirty per cent. to the great dishonour

dishonour of government. This gain induced the goldsmiths more and more to become lenders to government; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of parliament into pawn, as soon as it was given; so that in fact all the revenue passed through their hands.

One of the evils which had arisen from the civil wars, was the introduction of excise into England. In the year 1642 the lords and commons in parliament laid a tax on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, Excise. And the king's parliament, when sitting at Oxford, imposed the like taxes on all within their power. The zeal of the city of London for the parliament was so great, as, according to Rushworth, to agree to a weekly payment of ten thousand pounds, exclusive of Westminster and the other suburbs, which likewise serves to prove the opulence of that great commercial body. But it is not to be supposed that this assessment was levied for any length of time, but merely to provide for a pressing emergency. Indeed, the large sums raised by the parliament during the six years war which they maintained against their king, proves the wealth of the nation; for from the year 1641 to the year 1647, upwards of forty millions sterling was raised, or about six millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence yearly; and this enormous sum is exclusive of what the king raised in the counties where his interest prevailed.

CROMWELL, who had by his secret intrigues been the chief instrument in compassing the king's death, well knew how to avail himself of that complication of disorders which had seized the body-politic, and were produced by a civil and religious fervour, more epidemical and raging than any other age or country ever experienced. His views expanded with success, and those principles of liberty with which he

set out, were swallowed up in the unbounded prospect of power which now opened to his view. His weight and influence gave stability to the unsettled humours of the times; he seems indeed to have been made for the age in which he lived, and for that alone.

The first thing the parliament (for so the remnant of the house of commons now called themselves) did after the king's death, was to pass an act, ordaining, "That no person whatsoever do presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote, Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king or chief magistrate of England or Ireland, &c. without the free consent of the people in parliament, first had, and signified by a particular act of ordinance for that purpose; under pain of being adjudged a traitor." Soon after, February 5, they voted "the house of peers to be useless and dangerous," and an act was accordingly passed for abolishing it, though Cromwell is said to have appeared for them. And, to remove all that stood in the way of their designed common-wealth, they resolved and declared, "That it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest, of the nation; and therefore it should be utterly abolished." Then the form of government was declared to be a Common-wealth; and a council of state was appointed, consisting of forty persons, whereof Cromwell was one; to whom power was given, to command and settle the militia of England and Ireland, to order the fleet, and set forth such a naval power as they should think fit; to appoint magazines and stores for England and Ireland, and to dispose of them for the service of both nations as they thought proper. And they were to sit and execute these powers for the space of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be issued out in the names of "the keepers of the

the liberty of England." And a new oath, or engagement, was prepared, "to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers;" all who refused to take it, to be incapable of holding any place or office in church or state.

The new common-wealth being thus settled and secured, the commons next proceeded to punish those who had been most remarkable for their attachment to their late sovereign. The Duke of Hamilton, Lord Capel, and the Earl of Holland, were condemned and executed; the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were also condemned, but afterwards pardoned. These executions irritated the Scots: their loyalty began to return; and the insolence of the independents, with their victories, inflamed them still more. They determined therefore to acknowledge and proclaim Prince Charles for their king, but at the same time to abridge his power by every limitation which they had attempted to impose on his father. Charles, after the death of his father, having passed some time at Paris, the Scots sent deputies to him, to invite him over, but on the express condition of his consenting to maintain presbyterianism and the covenant. The king by no means liked these terms; and, as the Marquis of Montrose had done great service in Scotland for the king his father, he gave him a commission to raise forces in Germany, and make a descent upon Scotland, chusing rather to come in by force of arms than upon such conditions. Montrose accordingly landed in the north of Scotland with a small force, hoping he should soon be strengthened by numbers coming in to him. But the Scots parliament took such measures, that he was soon defeated, and fell into their hands, who condemned him to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, his head afterwards to be set upon the Tolbooth, at Edinburgh, his arms and legs at four several places, and his body to be buried under the gallows; which severe and ignominious sentence was accordingly

ingly executed. Montrose's expedition gave the Scots no very favourable opinion of the king, and they proceeded to treat with him in such a manner, that not the least alteration was to be made in the conditions they at first proposed. Necessity, at last, made him comply, and so he embarked for Scotland, where he arrived in June 1650, but was not permitted to land, till he had taken the covenant. Charles had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh where the limbs of his faithful adherent, Montrose, were still exposed.

The young king soon found that he had only exchanged his exile for imprisonment. He was surrounded and incessantly importuned by the fanatical clergymen, who, having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to keep it still subservient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of upstarts. Charles pretended to give ear to their discourses; but, however, made an attempt to escape. He was overtaken and brought back; when he owned the greatness of his fault, and testified his repentance for what he had done.

Here we shall leave the king at present; to take up the affairs of Ireland. Cromwell had been appointed by the parliament to command the army in Ireland, and was created lord-lieutenant. From the very moment of his receiving this charge, Cromwell used an incredible expedition in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. Cromwell, while the king was yet in France, had a remarkable interview with Lord Broghill; who, having formed a design of deserting the parliament's service, as the Earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately to London, intending to go to the king in France. He was no sooner come to London, but a gentleman came to him from Cromwell, to acquaint him that he would pay him a visit, if he knew when he would be at leisure; at which Broghill was

exceedingly surprized, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the messenger he supposed he was mistaken in the person he was sent to: but, the gentleman convincing him he was not, Lord Broghill owned who he was, and said he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The messenger had not been long gone, before Cromwell came himself, and, after compliments passed, desired to speak with his lordship in private; when he told him, "He had a great respect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with something that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it." He then told him, "that the council of state were informed of his design in crossing the water (which the Lord Broghill had communicated to two or three trusty friends only), that instead of going to the Spaw he designed going to the king, and take a commission from him to act against the parliament in Ireland: that the council had good proof of what he said, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpose; upon which it was resolved to send him to the Tower; which had been done, if he himself had not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to see if he could be induced to alter his purpose." Lord Broghill, seeing it would be to no purpose to evade the matter, asked Cromwell's pardon, thanked him for his good offices, and requested him to advise him. Cromwell replied, "That the council of state and he were no strangers to his actions in Ireland; and, the subduing of the rebels being committed to him, he was authorized by the council to offer him a general command, if he would serve in that war." Broghill readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour, that he would be faithful to the parliament: and so having received a commission to be master of the ordnance, and to command in Munster, he embarked for Ireland, where he was no sooner arrived, but several gentlemen, who had served under him in those wars,

wars,

wars, joined him; so that he soon formed a troop of horse, and, within a little time after, raised a regiment of fifteen hundred foot, which were ready to join Cromwell at his landing.---To return from this digression---Cromwell, having dispatched his business with the parliament, on the tenth of July left London, setting forward in great state, being drawn in a coach with six horses, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of state, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accoutered, both themselves and servants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where the gentlemen, who accompanied him, took their leaves, wishing a prosperous issue to his undertaking. From hence he posted directly for Bristol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters necessary for the hastening his men on shipboard.

Cromwell had sent over three regiments before him; and these arrived in Dublin in such good time, as to enable Jones, who commanded there, totally to rout the Marquis of Ormond's army before he arrived.---On the 2d of August 1649, Jones discovered a party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot besides horse, drawn down to their new work at Baggot-rath, a place about a quarter of a mile eastward of the city upon the sea. Hence they designed to run their trenches towards the city-works, thereby to secure those forts which were begun to be raised towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and supplies expected from England. But Jones and Reynolds, with the rest of the commanders in the city, observing the enemy's design, judged it necessary to interrupt them: and so, presently drawing out twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot, they soon entered the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with so much fury, that they routed the horse at the first charge; and soon after cut in pieces the greatest part of their foot, and took

most of the rest prisoners. The report of this disaster soon reached General Ormond's ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and, understanding also, that Jones was making towards his main army, said, "he wished the rebels would come, that he might have some sport with them," and so went on with his game. But he was soon forced to leave it; for Jones with his men following the chase to Rathmims, where Ormond's camp was, engaged the whole army, and, after two hours fight, totally routed them with a very great slaughter. Four thousand were reckoned to be killed on the place and in the pursuit, and above two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, of whom several were men of quality, and, amongst the rest Ormond's own brother, himself very narrowly escaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and provisions, behind them; besides a rich camp. This great victory was obtained with the loss of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being missing after the fight was over. The success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides; Jones with his handful of men being led on step by step to a complete victory, whereas their utmost design, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baginbally. Ormond's party were so surprized, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army, where Jones seized four thousand pounds very seasonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to Kilkenny with a considerable number: others betook themselves to Drogheda or Tredagh, whither he soon came himself with three hundred horse, and in very good time; for Jones, hoping the town might be so terrified with this overthrow as to surrender, hastened thither with some horse to summon it; but, having notice of Ormond's coming, he marched back to Dublin.

Cromwell

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Cromwell taking Drogheda by Storm.

Cromwell, being at Milford-haven, received the full account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin. But, the clouds being dispersed upon the news of the great success his party had that he sent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army. On the 13th of August he set sail from Milford-haven with thirty-two ships, wherein was the van of his army; Ireton soon following him with the main body in forty-two other vessels, and Hugh Peters with twenty sail bringing up the rear. With a very prosperous wind they soon arrived at Dublin, where they were received with all possible demonstrations of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people resounding in every street.

The army having refreshed themselves, and the lord-lieutenant having settled both the military and civil affairs of Dublin, he drew his forces out of the city to a general muster, where appeared a complete body of fifteen thousand horse and foot; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thousand stout resolute men, for the present service. With this army, furnished with all things necessary, he advanced towards Drogheda, a town well fortified, with a garrison in it of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a brave experienced soldier.

Cromwell was no sooner come before Drogheda, but, observing the rules of war, he summoned the governor to surrender; which summons was slighted, and looked upon as rather a matter of formality, than that he expected to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governor ordered all things for a quick dispatch of the siege. Ayscough's ships blocked them up by sea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red ensign displayed before the town. The besieged were not much dismayed at this, as expecting succour from the Marquis of Ormond. Cromwell, being

being sensible of the mischiefs of a long siege, would not spend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a strong battery which soon levelled the steeple of a church on the south side of the town, and a tower that stood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the east and south walls was demolished, and two breaches made, which some regiments of foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the horse to go in with them. Here the utmost bravery was shewn on both sides, the breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within so furiously charged those who first entered, that they drove them back again faster than they came in. Cromwell, who was all this while standing at the battery, observing this, drew out a fresh reserve, and in person bravely entered with them once more into the town. This example of their general inspired the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and, having now gained the town, they made a terrible slaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the sword; Cromwell having expressly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in arms; the design of which was to discourage other places from making opposition; to which purpose the lord-governor wrote to the parliament, "That he believed this severity would save much effusion of blood." Aston's men did not fall unrevenged; for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the churches and steeples, and other places of shelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church-steeple, resolving there to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible; but they were all quickly blown up with gunpowder, only one man escaping, who leaped from the tower. The wind befriending him, he received no further

further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which Cromwell's men seeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refused to yield upon summons, strong guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out; which soon had that effect as to make them surrender themselves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but small; for all the officers were presently knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest thrust on shipboard for Barbadoes. The governor, Sir Arthur Aston, here likewise met his fate, being put to the sword among the rest. And thus was this strong place taken and sacked in less than a week's time, which the Irish were three whole years in taking. This great action was so surprising, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, swore a great oath, "That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by storm, if he should storm hell, he would take it."

The dismal destruction of this place rendered Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had so much resolution as to expect a summons to surrender; and particularly the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like usage, abandoned them to the conqueror. In this last place their haste was so great, that they left their great guns behind them, on the platforms. Cromwell did not at that time carry on his conquests any further northward, but returned to Dublin, and marched with his army towards Wexford, that part lying convenient for subsisting his army in the southern counties. In his march, a place called Killingkerick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deserted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. Arckloe-castle was likewise abandoned, and many other places submitted to him.

On the first of October, Cromwell with his army came before Wexford, and sent a summons to the governor, Colonel David Synnot, requiring a speedy surrender. His answer was somewhat dubious, which occasioned

occasioned many papers to pass betwixt him and Cromwell. The governor did this on purpose to protract time until the Earl of Castlehaven had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garrison; and, having now received these recruits, he resolved to defend the place as long as he could, and seemed to defy all attempts that might be made against him. Upon this, Cromwell applies himself in good earnest to the work, and bends his great force against the castle, knowing that, upon the gaining of that, the town must soon follow. He caused a battery to be erected against it, whereby a small breach being made, commissioners were sent from the enemy, to treat about a surrender. In the mean time guns continued firing, no cessation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their post; whereupon some of Cromwell's men entered the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it. The enemy, observing this, quitted their stations in all parts, so that the others, getting over the walls, possessed themselves of the town without any great opposition, and set open the gates for the horse to enter, though they could do but little service, all the streets being barred with cables. The town being thus entered, none were suffered to live that were found in arms; and so they cut their way through the streets, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought desperately for some time; but were at last quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the sword. Great riches were taken in this town, it being esteemed by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. The reduction of this place was of very considerable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving supplies from England. And the severity that was exercised here, had the same effect

fect with that used at Drogheda: the terror spreading into all towns and forts along the coast as far as Dublin, spared the general the trouble of summoning them.

The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet season, Cromwell's troops suffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongst them. Many thought these reasons should have obliged him for the present to put a stop to his conquests; but he was of another mind, and determined to continue the war, or put an end to it as soon as possible. Being thus resolved, he marches his army towards Ross, a strong town upon the Barrow. Lord Taffe was governor of this place, who had a strong garrison with him; and the better to secure it, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord Ardes, in their own persons, caused fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it; Cromwell's army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, as soon as the great guns began to play, the governor, being apprehensive of the same usage that other garrisons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came to this agreement, "That the town be delivered to Lord-general Cromwell, and the garrison should march to Kilkenny;" which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but six hundred of them, being English, revolted to Cromwell.

In the mean time Kingsale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon-bridge, and other garrisons, declared for the conqueror; which garrisons proved of great use to the reduction of Munster, and consequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coot and Colonel Venables were very successful in the north; and Lord Broghill and Colonel Hewson did good service in other places.

Cromwell, having made himself master of Ross, caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, and his army to sit down before Duncannon, a strong fort commanded by Colonel Wogan: but this place was so well provided with all things necessary, that it

was judged it would be time lost to tarry long before it. And so the army quickly marched away into the county of Kilkenny; where Ormond seemed resolved to give Cromwell battle. His army was strong both in horse and foot, far surpassing Cromwell's, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diseases. Notwithstanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or striking one stroke. Upon which Enistegoe, a little walled town about five miles from Ross, was reduced by Colonel Abbot; and Colonel Reynolds, with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, marched up to Carrick; where having divided his men into two parts, whilst he amused them with one party, he entered a gate with the other, taking about a hundred prisoners without the loss of a man.

News hereof was brought to Cromwell, then besieging Waterford, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces should draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he presently detached a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons to reduce Passage-fort; which party met with the desired success, the fort and castle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being soon delivered up to them. But the siege of Waterford was not so successfully carried on: for Cromwell perceiving that the city resolved to stand upon their own defence, and it being now December, and the weather very wet, he thought it most adviseable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refreshed against the spring, for the better finishing of the work they had so prosperously begun. Whilst the army continued in winter-quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not sit still, but visited all the garrisons that were in his possession in Munster, and ordered all affairs both military and civil.

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The month of January was hardly expired, when the army took the field again in two bodies, which he divided on purpose to distress the Marquis of Ormond. Cromwell took one party, and another was led by Ireton, who marched away to Carrick, in order to reinforce himself by the conjunction of Colonel Reynolds. The first place reduced by him was a castle called Kilkenny, upon the borders of the county of Limerick. After that he took in Cloghern-house, belonging to Sir Richard Everard, one of the supreme council of the Irish. From thence he marched to Roghill-castle, which upon summons was delivered up to him. Here with much difficulty he passed the river Shewr, and without delay marched to Feathard, a garrison town. Being got into the suburbs about ten at night, he sent a trumpet with a summons to the town; but they shot at the trumpet, and, being informed that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they said, That it was not a fit time to send a summons in the night. Upon this, a resolution being taken to storm, the governor thought fit to send two commissioners to treat; and, after one night spent in the treaty, the town was surrendered next morning.

The forces having a little refreshed themselves at Feathard, the general marched with them from thence to Calan, garrisoned by the enemy. Here he was joined by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zanke, making up in all a considerable body. The chief strength of Calan consisted in three castles that were in the town: and these the soldiers stormed one after another, and carried them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that short resistance, all who were in arms being put to the sword, except Butler's troops, which surrendered before the cannon was fired. This so terrified some who defended a house about a musquet-shot from the town, that they presently sent to desire liberty to remove to Kilkenny; which Cromwell readily granted. The soldiers, having sufficiently furnished

themselves with the provisions they found in the town, marched back again to Feathard; by the way taking the two castles of Cnoctofer and Bullynard: after which soon followed Kiltennon, Arsennon, Coher, and Dundrum, very considerable places.

Cromwell had now entirely subdued all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. These were places of great strength, and would take up much time; however, he resolved to attempt the last: but, fearing the force he had might not be sufficient to carry on the design, he sent orders to Colonel Hewson, the new governor of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garrisons of Wexford, and the other posts he had taken on that side. Accordingly Hewson, after having taken Laughlin-bridge, joined the main army near Gowram, a populous town, defended by a strong castle, whereof one Hammond was governor. Being summoned to deliver it up, he returned a very resolute answer, having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were Ormond's own regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did such furious execution, that he soon thought it time for him to beat a parley: but it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than these, "That the common soldiers should have their lives, and the officers be disposed of as should be thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which Hammond was enforced by the sedition of the soldiers, he and all the commission-officers, but one, were the next day shot to death; and the priest, who was chaplain to the popish soldiers in the regiment, hanged.

After this, Cromwell began the siege of Kilkenny. The garrison there required a more than ordinary strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforced by those who had surrendered upon articles the small town and castles in that county. But Cromwell, not at all discouraged at this, on the 22d of March,

March, 1650, sent first of all a small party of horse before to reconnoitre, and shortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanced within a mile of the city, he made a stand, and sent a summons to the governor to deliver up the city, for the use of the parliament of England. The answer which was returned not being satisfactory, Cromwell made his approaches near to the wall, and caused a battery to be erected in the most convenient place for annoying the besieged, and opening an entrance to the besiegers. In the mean time the besieged were not idle; but, observing where the enemy bent his greatest strength, endeavoured there to make the greatest opposition, by raising two retrenchments within, strongly pallisadoing them, and placing some pieces that might play to the best advantage. Cromwell however, having made all the necessary preparations, fell furiously to battering the walls; whereby, after firing about an hundred shot, a breach was opened. In the mean while Colonel Ewer, with a thousand foot, was ordered to attempt another part of the city, called Irish-town; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the soldiers were ordered to attack the forementioned breach; which they accordingly did, but were forced to retreat with loss. However, the design took effect; for by this means the whole strength of the enemy was held in play, while Colonel Ewer with his party gained Irish-town; which they did with very little loss. There was on the other side of the river another small town, or suburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to send eight companies of foot to possess themselves of it; which was done without any opposition. This animated them to endeavour to force a passage over the bridge into the city; but the same misfortune happened as before at the breach. However, these desperate attempts occasioned the governor to reflect more seriously upon his present circumstances: and, after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms:

“ First,

" First, That the city and castle should be delivered up to Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and public stores. Secondly, The inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their persons, goods, and estates, from the violence of the soldiery; and such as had a mind to remove, to have liberty so to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, The governor, officers, and soldiers, to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, The city to pay two thousand pounds as a gratuity to Cromwell's army."

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been the nursery of the late rebellion, and the residence of the supreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in less than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable industry, of Cromwell; who would always bear a share in the hardships his soldiers were exposed to, and never flinch from them at any time when his personal valour was necessary; so that he frequently laid aside the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private soldier.

Cromwell stayed no longer at Kilkenny than was necessary to settle the affairs of that city; after which he marched with the army to Carrick. Here he wrote a letter to the speaker of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of Kilkenny, and several other places of less importance. Here having refreshed his men, he left that place, and set down before Clonmell, another considerable place, in which was a garrison of two thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. No sooner was the siege formed, but Colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were ordered to march away with a detachment of two thousand five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's design of falling into the parliament's quarters; and, notice thereof being sent to Sir Charles Coote, he thereupon took the field with three thousand men. But, the enemy shifting from place to place to avoid fighting, Colonel Reynolds, that his men might

not

not remain idle, besieged Tecrogham. In the mean time Lord Broghill being detached with another party of one thousand four hundred horse and dragoons, and one thousand two hundred foot, to fight the Bishop of Ross, who, with five thousand men, was marching to relieve Clonmell, he soon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about seven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as also the bishop himself with the standard of the church of Munster. Lord Broghill's horse are said to have done the service before the foot came up, and at such a pass, where a hundred musqueteers might have repelled all the horse in Ireland. The bishop was carried to a castle which was kept by his own forces, and there hanged before the walls, in the sight of the garrison; who were so dismayed at it, that they immediately surrendered the castle to the parliament's forces. This bishop used to say, "There was no way to secure the English, but by hanging them;" and now himself met with the same fate. These advantages were a great encouragement to those who lay before Clonmell; which the lord-lieutenant used more than ordinary industry to reduce, understanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all respects prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Besides, it was governed by an active Irishman, one Hugh O'Neal, who had employed all hands in the town for casting up new counterescarpments on the inside of the old walls, and doing every thing else that might tend to secure the place; so that it seemed impossible to gain it by assault. However, Cromwell, whose business now required a quick dispatch, as his service was likely very soon to be wanted elsewhere, resolved to try that course; and so having summoned the governor to surrender, and receiving no satisfactory answer, he ordered the great guns to be planted; which did such noble execution, that a breach was very soon opened, which the besiegers, upon a

signal given, courageously entered, and met with as gallant resistance from the besieged; notwithstanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful success, there being a great slaughter on both sides; but at last the enemy was forced to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight; and, though they were much favoured by some hills near the town, yet could they not escape the fury of the victorious soldiers, who killed many of them in the pursuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himself in this fight, gave this account of it: "That they found in Clonmell the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland; and it was his opinion, and of many more, that there never was so hot a storm of so long a continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland." The subduing of this place, though with so much difficulty, made such an impression on many more, that in a very little time they submitted without resistance.

While Cromwell was thus conquering in one part of Ireland, Coot and Venables had the like success in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: the Bishop of Clogher was here entirely routed, and, being taken prisoner, met with the same fate as the Bishop of Ross; and in this fight three thousand of the Irish were slain.

Thus the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with success; and he gave a constant account of his proceedings to the parliament and council of state, in all his letters exhorting them "to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due." He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, which he had missed of before; and had actually blocked up Waterford, when, about the middle of May, he was by order, or rather request, of the parliament, obliged to leave the finishing of his conquests to his son-in-law

Ireton,

Ireton, whom, for that purpose, he constituted lord-deputy. He had been in Ireland about nine months.

Waterford was surrendered soon after his departure; and so remarkable was the parliament's success in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour of Cromwell, and those whom he employed under him, that, in less than a year's time, they were masters of all but Limerick, Galloway, and some few garrisons and forces on the Fastnesses. Before Cromwell left Ireland, that he might the better weaken the Irish, he contrived means for transporting no less than forty thousand of them out of the nation, into the service of foreign princes; of whom few ever returned again to their native country.

Cromwell being returned to London, and having resumed his place in parliament, the speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks of the house, for the great and faithful services he had performed for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland: after which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the present state and condition of that kingdom.

Ireton died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure from Ireland. He had proceeded very successfully in his new government and command; and, after the taking of several places, giving articles to some, and making examples of others, he attempted the strong city of Limerick, which, after a long siege, at last surrendered to him: but, falling sick of the plague here shortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. The new commonwealth had a great loss by his death; and, to express their gratitude for his important services, ordered his body to be brought over to England; where, having first lain in state in Somerset-house, he was interred at Westminster among the English kings, with great pomp and magnificence.

On the return of Cromwell to England, he was chosen commander in chief of the parliamentary forces,

in the room of Fairfax, who declined opposing the presbyterians. The new general immediately set forward for Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men. On the 20th of July, 1650, he caused a general rendezvous of his forces to be on Haggerston-moor, four miles from Berwick. Being all drawn up, the general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then dismissed them to their quarters, whilst himself went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was sent into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of estates.

The army being thus quartered upon the very edge of Scotland, Cromwell, two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full prospect of the adjacent country, the stage whereon they were so soon to act their parts. Here he made a speech to them, declaring the grounds of their present undertaking, and something in relation to his coming from Ireland, and "the Providence that had designed this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a blessing from God, and all encouragement from himself." This speech was answered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the soldiers; who, being ordered to march, went on shouting as they entered Scotland. That night they quartered in a field near Lord Mordington's castle; where Cromwell, for the better preserving good order and discipline, caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any in Scotland not in arms; and withal, that none on the same penalty do presume, without special licence, to straggle half a mile from their quarters." From hence they advanced for Coberspath, and the next day arrived at Dunbar, where they were recruited with provisions from the ships sent thither from

from England for that purpose: for the country afford them none; the Scotch estates having taken a course before-hand, to clear all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh of all things that might afford any succour or relief to the English army. The army, being somewhat refreshed, marched to Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh; and all this without the least opposition, not seeing so much as the face of an enemy in arms: nor did they in all their march see one Scotchman under sixty years of age, nor any youth above six, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their ministers telling them, "That the English would cut the throats of all between sixty and sixteen years old, cut off the right hands of all the youths under sixteen and above six, burn the women's breasts with hot irons, and destroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army marched through some towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breasts before they destroyed them, and children begged them to save their lives; so much did the people believe what their ministers had told them.

The next day after the army's remove to Haddington, they understood that the enemy was disposed to give them battle on a heath called Gladsmoor. Whereupon the English endeavoured to possess themselves of the place before them, that they might have the advantage of ground in case they should meet them: but the Scots, it seems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this Major-general Lambert and Colonel Whalley were ordered to advance with one thousand four hundred horse toward Musselborough, four miles from Edinburgh; and Major Hains, commanding the forlorn, faced the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day Cromwell drew up the whole of his army before Edinburgh, near which the Scotch army was encamped upon a very advantageous ground. Here some skirmishes happened about

the possession of King Arthur's-hill, a place within a mile of the city; which the English gained, having beaten the enemy from it; and soon after possessed themselves of a church and several houses. But all these provocations could not prevail on the Scots to forsake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. Cromwell intended to have made an attempt upon them; but there fell so great a rain, which continued all night, and part of the next day, and his men were so wearied out with hard duty, that he was obliged to draw off his army to Musselborough, there to refresh and recruit it with provisions. As he drew off, the Scots, who laboured all they could to vex and distress the English army without coming to a general engagement with them, sallied out, and, falling upon the rear-guard, put them into some disorder: but Major-general Lambert and Colonel Whalley, coming in to their relief, routed the Scots, and beat them back into their trenches. Lambert was wounded in the charge, and had his horse killed under him; but they took two colours, and several prisoners of the enemy; whilst the king stood all the while upon the castle and saw the encounter. Some few of the English were killed, but far more of the Scots, amongst whom were some persons of quality. After this, the English marched on quietly to Musselborough, though in a very wet and weary condition; that night they stood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be set upon by their enemy; as at last they were: for, between three and four o'clock in the morning, Major-general Montgomery, and Colonel Straughan, with fifteen companies of choice horse, fell into their quarters with such fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horse in disorder. But the English, taking the alarm, charged them so home that they put them to the rout, and pursued them within half a league of Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, killing several officers and soldiers, and taking many prisoners.

The army, having now well-nigh spent their provisions, retired again to Dunbar, to meet and take in such fresh supplies as were sent thither by sea, by order of the English parliament. Here they received their tents and provisions from the ships. After two days spent in exhortation to the army, and in seeking God for his blessing upon their actions, they again advanced towards Edinburgh; where the Scots were keeping a solemn thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance, imagining the English army was quite gone; though it seems Lesley was not so confident, but expected another visit from the English; for, upon their return, they found Musselborough more forlorn than before, he having commanded, "That the gude women of the town should aw' come away with their gear, and not any stay to brew or bake for the English army, on pain of death."

Cromwell, however, finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to an engagement, on the 17th of August marched his army from Musselborough, and pitched his tents on Pencland-hills, within view of Edinburgh. In this march the enemy drew forth several bodies of horse and faced the English, but came not within gun-shot.

On the 18th the Scots drew forth on the west side of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the sea, to the number of three thousand horse, apprehending the English designed to possess a pass over the said river. The general, seeing this, drew out a body of troops, and went in person before them, to shew how ready he was to fight; on which the Scots, still having no mind to fight, returned back again to their quarters. Next day, part of the English army took the house of Redhaugh, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a garrison situated within a mile and a half of Edinburgh, and had about eighty foot to defend it; and, though
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the English stormed it in sight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it.

On the 26th of August, the Scots sent to General Cromwell, to desire a conference between some of themselves and some of his officers. The chief design of this conference was to wipe off a pretended aspersion that was cast upon them, and spread over both armies, as if they kept themselves in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themselves from these calumnies, they assured the English, "That, when opportunity served, it should be seen that they wanted not courage to give them battle." The next morning the Scotch army, as if they designed so soon to make good what they had said, drew out upon a march; which Cromwell no sooner observed, but he prepared to meet them, and the soldiers took down their tents, laid aside their knapsacks, and put themselves every way into a fit posture to meet and receive the enemy. But the Scots, it seems, had still no mind to come to an engagement; for, when the English army drew near them, they found they were separated from them by a great bog and a deep ditch; so that they could not come at them to engage, without running such hazards as were not necessary at that time. Both armies stood all that night in battalia; and the next morning, the great guns roared on both sides for about the space of an hour; by which one-and-twenty of the English were killed or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, however, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a closer fight.

Upon this Cromwell marched back his army to their former quarters on Pencland hills; where they were no sooner arrived but they were informed, that the Scots had sent out a party to take in Musselborough and Prestonpans, thereby to cut off provisions from the English army. Hereupon the general gave orders for the army to march that way. They arrived at

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Musselborough without any molestation from the enemy, who in the mean time took possession of what they had left behind them on Pencland hills.

By this means, and by frequent skirmishes and harassing the English, the Scots hoped at last to tire them out, depending much upon the disagreeableness of the climate to their constitution, especially, if they should keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in those parts. And their counsels succeeded according to their wish; for by this time the English army, through hard duty, want of provisions (the stores brought by sea being now exhausted) and the rigour of the season, grew very sickly, and diminished daily; the Scotch army in the mean time increasing, and continuing in good heart. Cromwell, reflecting upon the state of his affairs, and considering the weak condition of his army, resolved in this exigency to retreat with them once more to Dunbar.

On the 30th of August he drew out his army from Musselborough, and marched towards Haddington. The Scots, observing the English army to retire, followed them close; and falling upon the rear-guard of the horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of the foot, which put them into some disorder. Being come to Haddington, the Scots conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the English quarters on the west end of the town; but were soon repulsed and sent further off. Next day, being the first of September, the English continued their march for Dunbar. The Scotch army followed at a convenient distance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and, seeing the English lodged in Dunbar, hovered about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, and looking down upon them as their sure prey. Cromwell was now in great distress, and looked upon himself as undone. His army was
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in a very weak and sickly condition, and in great want of provisions, whereby their courage also was very much abated; whilst the Scots were stout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And besides, they more than doubled the English in number, being about twenty-seven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. The Scots had also secured Coberspath, the only pass between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all provisions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the English army, who had not above three days forage for their horses. Thus were they reduced to the utmost straits, so that they had now no way left, but either to yield themselves prisoners, and tamely give up themselves a prey to their insulting enemies; or to fight upon those unequal terms, and under those great disadvantages. In this extremity Cromwell, on the second of September, called a council of war, in which, after some debate, it was resolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the several regiments were ordered to their respective posts. Presently after, Cromwell walking in the Earl of Roxburgh's garden, that lay under the hill, by glasses discerned a great motion in the Scotch camp; he thereupon said, "God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us." The Scots, it seems, had now at last resolved to fight the English, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continued, the English could not have gone up to engage them without very great disadvantage. This resolution was contrary to Lesly's opinion; who, though chief in command, had a committee of the states to give him his orders. This resolution of the Scots, to fall upon the English, was for some time retarded by the unseasonableness of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already observed, Cromwell resolved to fall upon them.

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The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempestuous, the general took more than ordinary care of himself and his army. He refreshed his men in the town, and above all things secured his matchlocks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and, early in the morning, being Tuesday the third of September, before they were put in order, General Cromwell drew out a strong party of horse, and falling upon the horse-guards, made them retire. Then, immediately his bodies both of horse and foot advancing, the fight grew hot on all sides; till, after about an hour's dispute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was entirely routed. Two regiments stood their ground, and were almost all killed in their ranks. The rest fled, and were pursued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thousand were slain on the place and in the pursuit, and ten thousand taken prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand arms, all the the artillery and ammuntion, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and with the loss of scarcely three hundred English. Cromwell himself drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and sent it by a courier to the council of state, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London with solemn thanksgiving: and the colours taken in this battle, being sent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Westminster-hall.

Soon after the battle of Dunbar, the general, the better to improve his victory, and to secure what he had obtained, sent Lambert with a strong party of horse and foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and secure Leith, that the English ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the army with all necessaries. The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deserted Edinburgh, Lambert on the same day obtained a quiet possession of it, as

also of Leith; in both which places were found several pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a considerable quantity of provisions; which the Scots, by reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. But though the English had thus possessed themselves of the town of Edinburgh, the castle still remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at last reduced by Cromwell.

Soon after Lambert had taken possession of Edinburgh, Cromwell himself came up, and caused his whole army to march into that city; and preparations were made for the siege of the castle. He next published a proclamation against a company of sturdy fellows, called Moss-troopers, who very much molested the army, and, by the treachery and connivance of the country people, killed many of the English soldiers. Soon after this proclamation was published, Colonel Monk, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was sent to reduce Derlington-house, one of the nests of these moss-troopers: which, being joined by Lambert, he soon effected, taking all that were within prisoners; whereof two of the most notorious, with their captain, one Waite, were presently shot to death. After this, Monk taking with him a party of six hundred foot, marched against Roslan-castle; where, though at first he met with some resistance, it was quickly surrendered to him.

Cromwell made what use he could of the differences and dissensions that were in Scotland, and endeavoured to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he sent several times to Ker and Straughan in the west, to invite them to come in to him. Straughan shortly after withdrew himself from his party, and closed with the English, leaving Ker to command all himself. The general still endeavoured to draw him over, but all in vain; and, since he could not prevail by fair means, he resolved, notwithstanding the difficulty of marching

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at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of November, he ordered Lambert and Whalley, with five regiments of horse, to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of the river Clyde; whilst himself marched from Edinburgh on the north side. Having staid here some small time, till he had good intelligence where Lambert and his party were, and withal the weather being very bad, he marched back again to Edinburgh. Ker having notice of this, as also that Lambert was at Hamilton, thought he had now an opportunity to surprise him: and, accordingly setting upon a sudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horse, he before day with great fury broke into Lambert's quarters; and, meeting with no resistance at his first entry, he confidently marched up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty soldiers having upon the alarm suddenly mounted, and being favoured by a tree that lay across the street, obstructed their march till the whole garrison was alarmed. The suddenness of this attempt put the English into some surprise; but, soon recovering themselves, they left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy and to secure the rear, whilst the rest drew out with design to surround the enemy's whole party; who, perceiving this in time, very dexterously faced about and betook themselves to flight. In this encounter, which was but short, near a hundred of the Scots were slain, and as many made prisoners. Ker himself was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Those who fled were pursued as far as Air, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the Remonstrators, were also put to the rout.

This victory was soon followed by the surrender of Edinburgh castle, the most considerable strong-hold in Scotland, which was thought impregnable by situation and art. It is seated upon a high abrupt rock,

has but one entrance into it, and that very steep, and by which but two or three can go a-breast, and overlooks and commands all places about it; so that the lord-general's men were often very much galled in their quarters at Edinburgh, by the great guns playing from thence. When Cromwell came first before this strong place, which was soon after the defeat of Dunbar, he summoned the governor to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to consult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing seemed to encourage the attempting it by storm; and, all probable ways being debated, it was at last resolved to force it by mines. In order to this work, both English and Scotch miners were sent for, and, towards the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the besieged no sooner saw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great guns, and several volleys of small shot. But this proved no impediment to the English, who with indefatigable labour wrought the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a stand, but did not make them give over; for, having contrived to make holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing. But this mining work going but slowly on, Cromwell fearing it would not answer his design, and that he should not be able to blow the castle up into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and, to that end, he raised a battery fortified with gabions and other contrivances, designing to play incessantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The battery, notwithstanding all obstructions, being raised to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and six battering guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted against the castle. The governor resolved to acquit himself manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red ensign was hung out in defiance on the top of the castle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon
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this, Cromwell thought it high time to exert his utmost force; and accordingly sent in upon them such continual showers of shot, that the governor in a short time thought fit to beat a parley, and came to an agreement upon these articles: "First, That the castle of Edinburgh, the cannons, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to Cromwell. Secondly, That the Scots have liberty to carry away their public registers, public moveables, private evidences and writs, into Fife or Sterling. Thirdly, That, as to those goods in the castle belonging to any person whatsoever, the owners should have them restored to them. Fourthly, That the governor and all military officers, and soldiers, might depart without molestation, carrying their arms and baggage, with drums beating, and colours flying, to Bruntisland in Fife. Moreover, the sick and wounded soldiers to stay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the same benefit of articles with the rest of their fellows." According to these articles, this strong castle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a siege of three months, delivered up to the victorious Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there also fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, some of them remarkable both for size and beauty, eight thousand arms, fourscore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapestry, and jewels. The subduing of this place was a thing so unexpected by several, that the Scots cried out, "That Cromwell took it only by silver bullets." But what appeared most strange to others, was, that the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, should never attempt the relief of this most important place.

The main business the Scots were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delayed by the kirk and states, that he might have time to "humble himself for his father's sins and his own transgressions."

transgressions." But the vigorous proceedings of the English put them at last upon hastening that which they of themselves were backward enough in. The first of January, 1651, was appointed for this solemnity, which was performed at Scone, with the greatest pomp and magnificence that the present state of the nation was capable of. His majesty having subscribed both the covenants, the Marquis of Argyle set the crown upon his head; at which the people expressed their joy by their loud acclamations of "God save King Charles the Second." The main design was now to form such an army, as might not only secure what they had still in their hands, but drive the English (whom they now called the common enemy) quite out of their country. To effect this, all persons were promiscuously admitted into the army, commissions were granted for raising horse and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majesty set up his royal standard at Aberdeen, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary soldiers flocked from all parts. From thence he marched to Sterling; where, having mustered his army, he made Duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general. David Lesley major-general, Middleton major-general of the horse, and Massey general of the English troops.

Cromwell, observing these proceedings, endeavoured to possess himself of all those garrisons of the Scots which were on the south side of the Frith. To this end, he ordered Col. Fenwick to reduce Hume castle. Fenwick, having drawn his men up before the castle, sent a summons to the governor, whose name was Cockburn, who being, it seems, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling answer: "Right honourable, I have received a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a pass, to surrender Hume castle to the Lord-general Cromwell: please you, I never saw your general. As for Hume castle, it stands upon a rock. Given at Hume castle this day before seven a clock.

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So resteth, without prejudice to my native country,
your most humble servant, Th. Cockburn." And
soon after he sent the colonel these verses:

I William of the Wastle
Am now in my castle:
And aw the dogs in the town
Shan't gar me gang down.

But the governor did not long continue in this merry
humour: for Fenwick having planted a battery a-
gainst the castle, and made a small breach, as the English
were just ready to enter, Cockburn beat a parley. But
the colonel would now allow only quarter for life;
which being accepted, the governor with his garrison,
being seventy-eight, commanders and private soldiers,
marched out of the castle.---Colonel Monk was also
detached with about three regiments of horse and
foot, to reduce Tantallon castle. Being come before
it, he caused the mortar-pieces to play for eight-and-
forty hours: but these did little execution; till six bat-
tering guns, being planted, were so well managed, that
the governor and those that were with him were forced
to submit to mercy.

The king, having now got some authority, visited
all the garrisons in Fife, and endeavoured to put them
in such a posture as to hinder the English from land-
ing on that side the Frith. To this end he also drew
from Sterling such horse and foot as could be well
spared, and quartered them all along the water-side.
Then he visited the highlanders, endeavouring to com-
pose the dissensions that were amongst them, and to
prevail on them to rise unanimously for him. Middle-
ton marched out of these parts with a considerable
body of horse and foot: and, about the same time, the
town of Dundee, as a testimony of their great respect
to the king, and to shew their forwardness in promot-
ing his interest, advanced at their own charge a com-
plete well-armed regiment of horse, whom they sent,
with

with a stately tent, and six field-pieces, with carriages and ammunition, as a present to his majesty then at Sterling; where all being joined, made up an army of twenty thousand men. And endeavours were still used for augmenting this army; for which purpose, the Earl of Eglantoun, with some other commanders, were sent into the west, to raise what forces they could. These, coming to Dumbarton to execute their commissions; were suddenly surprized by a party of horse sent thither by Colonel Lilburn for that purpose; who took the earl himself, his son Colonel Montgomery, Lieutenant-colonel Colburn, &c. and brought them prisoners to Edinburgh.

Cromwell had for some time laboured under a very great indisposition, occasioned by the unsuitableness of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter season in those parts. This confined him wholly to his chamber, and utterly disabled him to act in person with the army, how great occasion soever there might be.—We take this opportunity to say a few words on Mr. Love's plot. About this time a plot was discovered in England, which had been carried on by the presbyterian party, and chiefly by the ministers of that persuasion, in order to promote the designs of their Scottish brethren, and help forward his majesty's restoration to the English throne, as a king under sufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Case, and Mr. Drake, very eminent Presbyterian divines, besides some others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of state. Jenkins, Case, and Drake, confessed themselves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble submission pardoned. But Love, as being more guilty than any of the rest, was, together with one Gibbons, beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d of August. He was condemned the 5th of July, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions

petitions were presented from himself and his friends to the parliament, for saving his life, but to no purpose; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, several ministers, in and about London, came to the house, Praying earnestly, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ, who, when they were sinners, died for them, if not totally to spare the life of their dear brother, that yet they would say of him as Solomon of Abiathar, "That at this time he shall not be put to death." Upon this he was reprieved for one month; during which time, all possible solicitations were used to those in power, and particular application was made to Cromwell in Scotland, who sent back a letter signifying his free consent to the pardon of him: but some cavaliers stopping the post-boy, and searching his packet, with great indignation tore the general's letter that concerned Mr. Love, as thinking he deserved not to live, who, according to them, had been such an inconsiderate in the treaty at Uxbridge. And so, the parliament and council of state hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his silence was designed as an absolute denial; upon which Love was executed on the foresaid day.

Cromwell was no sooner able to stir abroad, than he consulted with his chief officers on the best method of carrying on the war. For this purpose, it was thought proper to contract their quarters by drawing in the outguards or petty garrisons, which were of little use, and were often very much molested by the Scots. And now the army, being thus drawn together into one body, were supplied with thirty-three waggons and carriages for the train from Berwick; and, all things being in readiness for the campaign, the general, on June 24th, ordered the army to Penland hills, a place well known to the English. Here they encamped, and the general feasted his officers in his tent, with several of their ladies, and many other English gentlewomen, who came from Berth to see the soldiers in their tents.

The army, having continued some small time in this posture, marched away to Newbridge, and thence to Lithgow; where, from the battlements of the castle, they could discern the tents of the Scotch army, which lay encamped at Torwood near Sterling; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horse in great bodies lying about them for security, who were also fenced with a river and with bogs; so that the English could not possibly drive them out of this fastness. However, the general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, marched his army in battalia so near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly seen, and so stood for the space of eight hours waiting for the coming of the Scots; who, thinking it better to spin out time than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon Cromwell drew off to Glasgow, where, having refreshed his wearied men, he marched them back again; and, understanding that the Scots had removed their camp to Kelith, he wheeled about, and shortly after quartered his army at Monks-land, within four miles of the enemy. But they still refused to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greatest hazard. This so provoked him, that he resolved to fall upon part of their forces that defended Calendar-house. And so, on the 15th of July, he ordered two battering guns to be planted, which having played with great violence for about eight hours, at last beat down the walls in several places. Notwithstanding which, the governor expecting relief from the Scotch army, which lay in sight of him, resolved to hold out to the utmost. Upon which, Cromwell sent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, since they could not be prevailed on to submit. These men, having provided themselves with faggots, unloaded themselves into the enemy's moat, and so, springing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly possessed themselves of the house, having slain the gover-

nor with sixty-two of his men. The Scotch army all this while looked on, as if they were not at all concerned in the matter.

Cromwell, finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to a battle, resolved now to attack Fife, that thereby he might cut off those supplies from them that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after taking Calendar-house, Colonel Overton, with sixteen hundred foot and four troops of horse, put out into the Forth, being ordered to land at the North-ferry in Fife; which he did in spite of those showers of great and small shot, that were poured upon him as he approached the shore; in return to which he caused his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with so much courage and bravery, that the Scots betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, Cromwell kept close up to the Scots with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in case they moved to disturb his enterprize. However, the king sent Major-general Brown and Colonel Holborn with four thousand men, to force the enemy out of Fife again; but, before they could come up to them, Lambert and Okey passed over the Forth with two regiments of horse and two of foot, and joined Overton. And the English with this unexpected reinforcement falling upon Brown and Holborn, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the spot, and taking prisoners Major-general Brown himself, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, seventeen lieutenants, twenty-nine ensigns, five quarter-masters, six-and-twenty serjeants, five-and-twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common soldiers, with two-and-forty colours of horse and foot. Brown, being thus defeated and reduced to the condition of a prisoner, lived not long after; dying, as was thought, of grief for this disaster. After this blow, the English took in garrisons almost as fast as they approached

proached them. Lambert, in the first place, came before a strong fort called Innesgarry, situated in an isle lying in the Frith, betwixt Queen's-ferry and the pass to Fife. The garrison here was so terrified at the news of the late overthrow, that, being summoned by Lambert, they were content to march away with only their swords by their sides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, and sixteen pieces of ordnance, to the English.

The news of the defeat in Fife being brought to the king, who still lay strongly encamped in Torwood, occasioned so great a consternation in his army, that with great precipitation he detamped, and marched into Sterling-park. Cromwell followed speedily after them in the rear; and, marching over the ground where they so lately lay, he perceived they had left behind them all their sick men, a barrel of powder, three of ball, many muskets, and three barrels of hand-granadoes. The general followed them within two miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement; but all in vain, they making all the haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of July, 1651, marched away his army to Lithgow; from whence he caused the greatest part of them to be transported over into Fife, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other side of the water. The general himself retired to Leith, to provide for the supply of his soldiers; and here he received the welcome news of the surrender of Bruntisland to Lambert; who having brought his army before it, the governor of the place was so dismayed, that after a short parley he delivered it up on these conditions: "First, That the soldiers in garrison (being about five hundred) should march away with flying colours. Secondly, That the inhabitants of the town should have what belonged to them. Thirdly, That all provisions of war, together with all guns

guns and shipping of war, should be delivered up for the use of the commonwealth of England." This place was of great advantage to the English; for, it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the course of their conquests, have continued supplies of all that was necessary and convenient for them.

Cromwell, having settled matters at Leith, immediately crossed the Frith to his army, which was then at Bruntisland; dispatching Whalley to reduce the smaller garrisons upon the coast of Fife, and leaving Colonel West's regiment in Bruntisland, he, with the rest of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of July, marched away towards St. John's-town; that, by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the Highlanders from sending supplies of men or provisions to Sterling. Being come before it, he sent this summons to the town, "That being informed the town was void of a garrison, save the inhabitants and some few countrymen, he required them to deliver the same to him immediately; promising to secure their persons from violence, and their goods from plunder." The messenger, who carried this summons was, contrary to the expectation of the English, denied admittance, and came back with this short reply from the townsmen, "That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters." But the magistrates soon sent after him a message, declaring, "That the king had sent a very strong party, able to maintain the town, and overpower them with a governor; but that they had obtained leave from the governor to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat." It seems, the Lord Duffus had the day before entered the town with thirteen hundred men; but the general, upon his refusal of the new summons which he sent him, having drained the water out of the moats round about the town, and battered the walls with his cannon, obliged him to surrender in a day's time.

These

These wonderful successes, which attended the English arms, threw the king's affairs in Scotland into great perplexity and distress; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into England. He was now much nearer England than Cromwell, who could not possibly overtake him, till after his majesty had been some days march before him. His fate depended upon the success of one battle; and he had reason to believe, that all the northern parts of England were well affected to him. Upon this, it was resolved, that the army should with all possible expedition advance into England, by the nearest ways that led into Lancashire; whither his majesty sent expresses to his friends in those parts, that they might have their soldiers in readiness to receive him. He also sent an express to the Earl of Derby, who was then in the Isle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancashire. The Marquis of Argyle was the only person who dissuaded the king from marching into England; but, the contrary opinion prevailing, Argyle retired to his house in the Highlands. And so, on the last day of July, the king began his march from Sterling, and on the 6th of August entered England by way of Carlisle, with an army of about sixteen thousand men.

The noise of this sudden invasion gave a most terrible alarm to the whole nation, especially to the parliament at Westminster, who were still more dismayed at the reports of the greatness of the king's army, and his design of mounting his foot-soldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to pass severe censures on Cromwell, and condemned him of rashness and precipitation; whilst he in the mean time took care to satisfy them as well as he could, and assured them, "That he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they should give them any trouble." Accordingly, that he might lose no time, he ordered Major-general Lambert to follow the king immediately with seven or eight hundred

dred horse, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to molest the king's march as much as possible, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions, without a very manifest advantage, but keeping himself entire till he should come up to him.

The parliament exerted themselves to the utmost on this occasion. The militia of most counties was ordered to be drawn into the field, to obstruct the king's march. Two thousand out of Staffordshire, and four thousand out of Lancashire and Cheshire, under the command of Colonel Birch, joined with Lambert and Harrison. Lord Fairfax drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were strictly enjoined by the parliament to set out horse and men at their own charges. An act was also published, wherein it was declared, "That no person whatsoever should presume to hold any correspondence with Charles Stuart, or with his party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist, any of them; nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered unto them, any victuals, provisions, ammunition, arms, horses, plate, money, men, or any other relief whatsoever, under pain of high-treason: and that all persons should use their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop their march."

Cromwell, being now ready to march into England, endeavoured to settle the affairs of Scotland in such a posture, as effectually to secure what was already obtained; and gave all the necessary orders to Lieutenant-general Monk, whom he resolved to leave behind him with a strong party of foot and horse, to quell any forces which should rise after his departure. This done, the victorious Cromwell, with the remainder of the army, marched out of Scotland, and on the 12th of August crossed the Tine. The mayor of Newcastle, understanding

understanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the rest of the magistrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in England; and, that they might be the more welcome to the soldiers, carried along with them refreshments for the army. These supplies were very seasonable, and enabled the soldiers cheerfully to continue their march.

The royalists in the mean time by a swift march went on in prosecution of their present design. The king led them through Lancashire, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns he passed through proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for, besides that the Scots daily deserted him, the country did not come in to him as he believed they would, being continually obstructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which spread themselves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards Warrington on the borders of Cheshire, the passage of which bridge was sharply contested by Lambert and his party, but was at last obtained by the king, the Scots, as they fell on, crying out, "Oh you rogues! we will be with you before your Cromwell comes." The king resolved to continue his march with the same expedition as he had used hitherto, till they should come to such a post where they might securely rest themselves; which the poor soldiers very much desired, being extremely fatigued with the length of their march, and the heat of the season. His majesty, hoping the interest that Major-general Massey had in Gloucestershire would draw a great many in to him from those parts, resolved to direct his march that way. At last, looking upon Worcester as a proper place, he determined to settle there with his army; and accordingly, on the 23d day of August, he entered that city with very little opposition; where he resolved to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and, that he might not be wanting in any thing that might tend to

the preservation of himself and forces, he ordered works to be raised for better security. Then he sent a summons to Colonel Mackworth governor of Shrewsbury, inviting him to yield up that garrison to him; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He also sent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raise forces for him in Montgomeryshire; but Sir Thomas detained the messenger prisoner, and sent up the letter to parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in Worcester, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the Earl of Derby. This brave man was the only person, who made any considerable attempt to support the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horse; but, before he could join the king's army, Colonel Lilburn set upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himself, being wounded, retreated into Cheshire, with about eighty horse, and from thence to the king at Worcester.

In the mean time Cromwell, having refreshed his soldiers near Newcastle, marched away by Rippon, Ferrybridge, Doncaster, Mansfield, and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the rest of the parliament's forces under Fleetwood, Desborough, Lord Grey of Groby, Lambert, and Harrison; making in all about thirty thousand men. The common-wealth had indeed by their new levies encreased their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before produced so many soldiers in so short a time; for the standing army, with those other forces newly raised by act of parliament, upon this occasion, are said to have amounted to above sixty thousand men. Cromwell being come up, and having observed the posture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, seven miles from Worcester, designing there, if possible, to pass over his army. Lambert, who was appointed to this service, immediately detached a small party of horse and dragoons; this party, coming to the bridge,

found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this these daring fellows passed, who, finding the Scots took the alarm, betook themselves to a church for security. Hereupon Massey, who lay at Upton with about sixty dragoons, and two hundred horse, attacked the church in the dark; but Lambert, having in the mean time passed over a new supply of horse, fell furiously upon the enemy's party, and, overpowering them, forced them to a retreat; which Massey supported with so much bravery, that sometime facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the rear, and never quitted his station, till he arrived with his men at Worcester. The bridge being thus gained, all possible industry was used to make it up; so that Fleetwood's army quickly passed over; and, still marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile below Worcester. And Cromwell in the mean time caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his side, for the better junction of the army. The Scots drawing out to oppose Fleetwood's passage, Cromwell resolved to divert their design, or oblige them to fight at great disadvantage: to which end, himself in person led over the river two regiments of foot, Colonel Hacker's horse, and his own life-guard, on that side of Worcester which he designed to attack. Whilst this was doing, Fleetwood, assisted by two regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined with musqueteers, judging that to be the safest way. And indeed they stoutly maintained their ground till three other regiments came in and joined with the others against them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by Colonels Hains, Cobbet, and Matthews; and thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into Worcester.

Presently after, the king calling a council of war, it was resolved to engage Cromwell himself. Accordingly,



The Battle of Worcester.

Barlow sculp.

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ingly, they on a sudden sallied out against him with so much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not sustain the shock, but was forced to retire in some disorder; and his cannon likewise were for some time in the power of the king's party: but, multitudes of fresh forces coming in, at last turned the scale on Cromwell's side. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceness and various success, till the Scots, being overpowered by Cromwell's superior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confusion to secure themselves. The horse made as fast as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being closely pursued by some of the conquerors, who furiously flew through all the streets, doing such terrible execution, that there was nothing to be seen for some time but blood and slaughter. As soon as Cromwell had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilst this party were killing and slaying all they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by Colonel Drummond; and, being just about to storm, he first ventured his person through whole showers of shot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the fort; which they refusing, he soon reduced it by force, and put them all to the sword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very considerable parties were sent after the flying enemy, and the country every where rose upon them. The slain in this battle were reckoned about four thousand, and the prisoners taken in the fight and in the pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that near all were lost. The chief of the prisoners were Duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke), who died soon after of his wounds; the Earl of Derby, who not long after was sentenced to death, and lost his head at Bolton; the Earls of Lauderdale, Carnwath, Rothes, and Kelley; the Lord Sinclair, Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, Major-generals Mont-

gomery and Piscotty, Mr. Richard Fanshaw secretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; besides several colonels, and other inferior officers. There were also taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's standard, his coach and horses, and several other things of great value.

The king escaped, and now entered upon a scene of adventures the most romantic that can be imagined. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise his person, he worked for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause. In this attempt, however, he was disappointed; every pass being guarded to prevent their escape. Being obliged to return, he met one Colonel Careless, who had escaped the carnage at Worcester. In his company the king was obliged to climb a spreading oak; among the thick branches of which they spent the day together, while they heard the soldiers of the enemy in pursuit of them below. From thence he passed with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist in Staffordshire. There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the properest port, it was resolved that he should ride thither before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey, he every day met with persons whose faces he knew, and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army. When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door, and amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after taking proper care of his horse in the stable, was shewn to an apartment which Mrs. Lane had provided for him,

him, as it was said he had the ague. The butler, however, being sent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and master; and, falling on his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king was alarmed; but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master: and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of Colonel Wyndham in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no dissatisfaction at having lost three sons and one grandchild in the defence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumental in his own preservation.---Pursuing from thence his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very narrow escape at a little inn, where he set up for the night. The day had been appointed for a solemn fast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliamentary army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher, that he knew, by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed, that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and left the inn before the constable's arrival. At Shoreham, in Suffex, a vessel was

at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that if he had not set sail at that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After forty-one days concealment, he arrived safely at Feschamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his escape.

Cromwell in the mean time having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's party, staid no longer at Worcester than to see the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth, thereby to curb the disaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to secure any enemy for the future. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thousand prisoners like sheep before him. After some small repose, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the speaker made a speech to him, congratulating his return after so many worthy achievements, and giving him the thanks of the house for his great and faithful services to the commonwealth. On the same day, he with his chief officers, was feasted in the city, with all possible state and pomp: and soon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a solemn thanksgiving-day, and the other for a yearly observation of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewise settled four thousand pounds a year upon him, out of the estates of the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Worcester, besides two thousand five hundred pounds per ann. formerly granted.

Soon after the battle of Worcester, the Isle of Man, bravely defended by the heroic Countess of Derby; and the Isle of Jersey, that had been long maintained by Sir George Carteret; were both reduced to the parliament's obedience. They had long since been
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masters of Guernsey, except the chief fort, called Cornet-castle, which had been a great while defended by the governor, but was about the latter end of October surrendered upon very honourable terms. And the Scilly isles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were some time before reduced by part of the parliament's fleet.

Major-general Monk, whom Cromwell had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good success. Before the fight at Worcester, he took Sterling, the chief strength of the Scots; as also Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had used before at Drogheda; and surprized a convention of the Scottish nobility, among whom was old General Lesley, and sent them prisoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occasioned such a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter, castles, with other towns, castles, and strong holds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or surrendered upon summons. Notwithstanding this, the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: but they were soon suppressed and dispersed by Colonel Morgan: so that the English extended their conquests through all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the isles of Orkney and Shetland, which now submitted to them.

Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, as well as the present factions, the power of England had never, at any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms, as it did at this time, in the hands of the common-wealth. A numerous army served to enforce implicit subjection to established authority on all parties, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views among the several members of the legislature could any longer be apprehended. The
military

military genius of the people, had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy, and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity for men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to advance themselves, by their courage, to commands, which they were all well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them.

Blake, a man of undaunted courage, and great generosity, had defended Lyme and Taunton against the king with an inflexible spirit: this man was now created an admiral, although his experience was entirely confined to land-service, and even in that he had not entered until he was almost fifty years of age. Notwithstanding these apparently insurmountable disadvantages, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. He took the command of a fleet which was destined to go in search of Prince Rupert, who still held the command of that squadron which had deserted to the king. The prince had taken refuge in the harbour of Kinsale, but, thinking himself insecure there, made the best of his way to the coast of Portugal. Blake hung close upon his rear, and chased him into the Tagus, where, although within sight of Lisbon, he was preparing to attack him; but the remonstrances of his Portuguese majesty at length prevailed on him to desist: Prince Rupert at length escaped, through the assistance given him by the king, who however was made to suffer severely for this instance of partiality; for the English admiral, as a retaliation, made prize of twenty Portuguese vessels richly laden, and threatened yet farther vengeance. John IV. dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, and sensible of the inequality of the contest in which he was engaged, made humiliating concessions to avert the danger that threatened



Chapman Sculp.

ADMIRAL BLAKE

Published as the Act directs Jan^y 1707.



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threatened him, whereupon he was admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England.

Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, directed his course to the West-Indies; and there his brother, Prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a hurricane. With the few ships that remained of his squadron, he committed depredations on the commerce of Spain, as well as on that of the republic; and at length he returned to France, where he sold his prizes, together with the ships that remained of his fleet.

Of all the infant settlements in America, New-England alone, which was inhabited entirely by puritans, acknowledged the authority of the common-wealth. Sir George Ayscue was therefore sent with a fleet to reduce all such as adhered to the exiled sovereign. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were soon subdued; Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance, but was soon obliged to submit.

The parliament shewed their attention to the commercial interests of their country, by passing what is called the navigation act, whereby they prohibited all merchandize being imported into England, either from Asia, Africa, or America, (including our own plantations,) in any but English-built ships, and belonging either to English or English-plantation subjects; also navigated by an English commander, and having three-fourths of the sailors natives of Great-Britain: excepting only such merchandize as should be imported directly from the place of its growth, or manufacture, in Europe solely. Likewise all fish was prohibited being imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, or even from one of our own home-parts to another, except such as was caught by English fishermen. This first general navigation-act was particularly calculated to check the progress of the Dutch trade, who, at that time, were the sole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to ano-

ther ; but hereby the greatest part of their imports into England was cut off. Until this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleased, and in any shipping ; but no sooner was this restriction laid, than the English searched the Dutch ships, and frequently made prize of them : hereupon the states-general sent over four ambassadors to England, to represent their grievances to parliament, and to Cromwell, who, in their turn, made five several demands on the states, viz. 1. The arrears of the tribute due for their fishing on the British coasts. 2. The restoration of the Spice Islands to England. 3. For bringing to justice such as were still alive, who committed the cruelties at Amboyna and Banda. 4. Satisfaction for the murder of their envoy Dorislaus, who had been killed by some Scots officers at the Hague. 5. Reparation for the damages which England had sustained from the Dutch in Russia, Greenland, &c. amounting to the capital sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. This navigation-act therefore greatly contributed to bring on the fierce naval war which broke out in the year 1652. These five demands were made with so much peremptoriness, as convinced the states that it was time to prepare for a war with England. They equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers in London, to inform the council of state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the new republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both commonwealths were every day more irritated against each other ; and the English parliament, most probably, thought a foreign war an effectual expedient for uniting the contending factions at home.

The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel was occasioned by commodore Young firing upon a Dutch man of war who refused him the honour of the flag.

The

The commander acted with great caution, and gave the other every opportunity of avoiding a dispute. But the Dutch captain, having positive orders from the states not to pay the honour which the English exacted from their ships in the Channel, peremptorily refused to comply: the English commodore hereupon fired on the Dutchman, when a sharp engagement began, in which the Hollanders were so roughly handled, as to be obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchant-men, none of whom interposed; and, after the Dutch ships had lowered their flags, the commodore retired without making any prizes.

Admiral Blake, on his return from his expedition against Prince Rupert's fleet, received the thanks of parliament for his gallant services, and was appointed, in conjunction with Dean and Popham, to the chief command at sea.

Martin Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, having had the command of that fleet which gained the memorable victory over the Spaniards in the year 1639, was now appointed by the states of Holland, to the command of a fleet of forty sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the English privateers. He was forced, by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the Downs. On the 18th of May, 1652, this fleet fell in with a small squadron, under the command of Major Bourne, whom Van Tromp informed, that stress of weather had driven him into those parts. The English officer bluntly answered, that the shortness of his stay would best prove the truth of those pretensions; and immediately acquainted his admiral, Blake, who lay off Dover, with the transaction. The next day Van Tromp bore down with his fleet upon Blake, whose force consisted of fifteen ships. On their approach without paying the honour of the flag to the English, Blake ordered several cannon, without shot, to be fired; Tromp paid no

regard to these warnings, and Blake no sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The engagement immediately began with great fury. At the first onset the English admiral's ship sustained almost the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, but the rest of his fleet, gradually coming into the action, supported their admiral with great bravery. The engagement continued very sharply from four in the afternoon till nine at night; and, before the close of it, Commodore Bourne came in with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away towards the Goodwin Sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was taken, and the other sunk. The victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost no ship, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers was very great.

On the news of this action arriving in Holland, the states were thrown into a violent consternation, and immediately dispatched Pensionary de Paauw, as their ambassador extraordinary to the common-wealth of England, and ordered him to lay before the council the narrative which Tromp had sent of the rencounter. They entreated the English, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and point out the aggressor. They disclaimed giving Tromp any orders which could authorize him to attack the English, and denounced severe punishment upon him, if he was found to have behaved in a manner which the states so much discountenanced; but the demands of the parliament were too high to be brought to square with any concessions which the Dutch might have been willing to make, so that the negotiation soon broke off, and war was declared in Holland on the 8th day of July following.

The



J. Chapman sculp.

ADM^L VAN TROMP.

Published as the Act directs April 1798.



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The parliament indeed had never lost a day in treaty. In order to enforce their act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the insults and injuries they had received from the republic of Holland, Blake was very active in the Channel in picking up their merchantmen. Eleven ships, bound from Nantes, fell into his hands a fortnight after the action with Van Tromp. About the same time, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch men of war on the coast of Flanders, who refused to lower their flag; one of these was taken, and the other stranded: a few days after Blake took twenty-six merchant-ships, homeward bound from France. So that, in the month of July, this indefatigable commander sent forty rich prizes into the river Thames, which did incredible mischief to the Dutch trade.

Sir George Ayscue being now returned from the West-Indies, the command in the Channel was entrusted to him, while Blake sailed northwards to annoy the Dutch in their herring-fishery; and, by striking a decisive stroke at that staple branch of their commerce, to convince them of their folly in disputing the sovereignty of the British seas with the English. Early in July he arrived in those parts, where he found a great number of Dutch fishing-vessels, under the protection of twelve men of war. This convoy was immediately attacked; they fought bravely for some time, but were at length obliged to surrender, only one escaping, who chose to secure his safety by an early flight. True valour is ever generous to a prostrate foe; the fishing-busses being now left defenceless, Blake neither sunk nor took them, but permitted them to complete their loadings, on paying the tax of the tenth herring, which King Charles had imposed some years before: such only as refused to comply with these equitable conditions, were either sunk or driven ashore. The Dutch themselves were grateful for this signal act of moderation,

tion, and we do not find that the English parliament disapproved it.

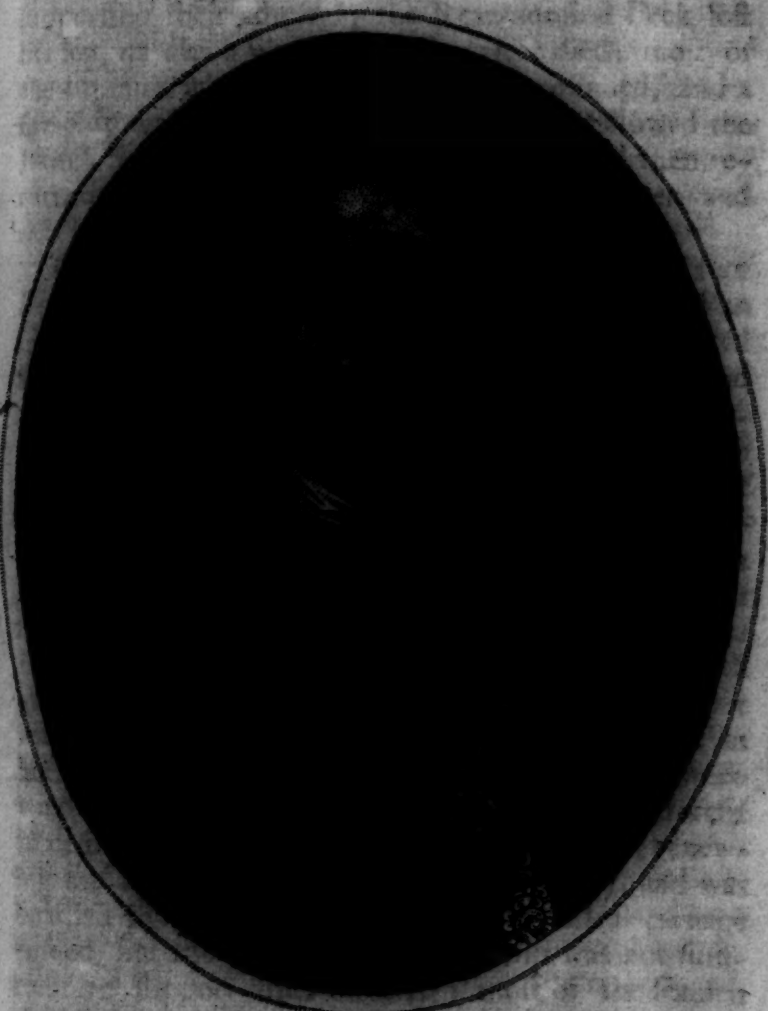
In the mean time Vice-admiral Ayscue was not idle on his station; he fell in with a fleet of ships bound from St. Ubes, or Setubal, a sea-port of Portugal, consisting of forty sail, and either took, burnt, stranded, or plundered, near thirty of them, on the coast of France.

While Blake was triumphing in the north, Van Tromp, with a fleet of seventy men of war appeared at the mouth of the Thames, with a design to cut off the squadron under Ayscue, or to make a descent on the coast; but he was frustrated in both these views. Hereupon he sailed northward to intercept Blake; but, his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that object likewise, and returned into port without effecting any thing, and with the loss of five frigates, which, being separated in the storm from the rest of the fleet, were taken by Blake on his return home.

This miscarriage of the grand fleet spread discontents among the Dutch, and popular clamour ran so high against Van Tromp, that he was induced to throw up his commission. De Ruyter, succeeding him in command, immediately put to sea; and on the 16th of August came up with Sir George Ayscue's fleet off Plymouth. The fight began about four o'clock in the afternoon. The English admiral, with nine other ships, charged through the Dutch fleet, and, having thereby gained the weather-gage, turned upon them with great bravery. Night parted the combatants when the battle had become desperate. The next morning Ruyter made the best of his way for his own coast, his fleet having been very roughly handled, insomuch that some of his best ships were scarcely able to keep afloat. The force of the two fleets was not greatly disproportionate in ships of war, but the Dutch admiral strengthened himself by bringing twenty of the merchant-ships, which he convoyed, into the line of battle. On the
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ADM^L RUYTER.

Portrait of the late Admiral Ruyter.

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side of the English, the whole weight of the action rested on ten ships, the rest of the fleet not properly supporting their admiral; the Rear-admiral Peck lost his leg, of which wound he soon after died; most of the captains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. The English admiral followed the Dutch fleet for some time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth Sound to refresh his men and refit his ships.

The war was not long confined to the coasts of Britain; in the Mediterranean the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked Commodore Badily, who, with three men of war and a fire-ship, was convoying homeward-bound merchantmen from the Levant. The first day's fight began in the afternoon, off the Island of Elba, near the coast of Tuscany, and continued till night, with little advantage to either party. In the night the English merchant-ships left the men of war, and set all their sails for the harbour of Porto-Longone, in the Isle of Elba. The next morning the battle was renewed with great fury. Van Galen began a close engagement with the English commodore, but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots between wind and water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced to desist; another of the enemy's largest ships, renewing the attack, had her main-mast shot away, and was boarded by the Phoenix frigate: a dreadful carnage ensued, but the bravery of the English was not sufficient to support their temerity; most of the seamen were either killed or wounded, and at length the ship was taken. In the mean time the commodore's ship was attacked, and boarded, by two Dutch ships at the same time; but, far from sinking under this unequal conflict, he continued to defend himself with such firmness, that the Dutch historians themselves confess, that their ships were both beaten off, with the loss of their captains, and a dreadful slaughter of their men.

The English commander contenting himself with the glory of this achievement, having lost a great number of his men, followed the merchant-ships into port, leaving the Hollanders the empty boast of a ruinous victory. Soon after, the Dutch ships repaired to the same harbour, to recover from the shattered condition to which they were reduced. Whilst in this neutral port, the animosity between the crews of the two squadrons was laid aside, and no insults were offered by either so long as they remained on-shore.

At the same time Commodore Appleton, with another squadron of English ships, was lying in the road of Leghorn, where some of the Dutch ships had repaired after the action with Badily, and had brought in their prize, the Phoenix frigate, the command of which had been given to Captain Van Tromp, whose ship had been quite disabled in that desperate fight. Whilst in this situation, a design was formed by an Englishman, named Cox, who had formerly been lieutenant on-board the Phoenix frigate, to seize her in the harbour, and carry her off. This was attempted on the night of the 26th of November, with such secrecy, that no alarm was given to the Dutch on-board, until they found themselves incapable of making any resistance. The Grand Duke of Tuscany very justly considered this seizure of a frigate in harbour, as a breach of that neutrality which he was bound to maintain, whilst the ships of the two republics remained there; he therefore insisted that the English should either restore her, or quit the port. To venture out to sea, whilst Van Galen with sixteen men of war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchantmen, was cruising to intercept them, was a desperate step; but, as there was no other alternative but that of giving up the frigate, the former was chosen; for, though it was the most dangerous, it was the most honourable.

No sooner was this resolution formed, than Commodore Badily, who still lay at Elba with his small force,

force, was apprized of it; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Badily should appear before Leghorn, and, by engaging the Dutch fleet in a chase of him, give Appleton's squadron an opportunity of putting to sea. This stratagem was put in execution, and produced the consequences which might have been foreseen; for Van Galen dispatched a part of his fleet after Badily, whilst, with his chief force, he waited to attack Appleton as soon as he should be out at sea. Nine Dutch men of war were now opposed to six English, which odds were increased by a random shot from Van Galen's ship setting fire to the *Bona-venture* of forty-four guns, and blowing it up; at the same time a shot from that ship broke the Dutch admiral's leg; of which wound he died three weeks after, at Leghorn. The English commodore was then attacked by two of the Hollanders at the same time, against whom he maintained a close fight for five hours, with such bravery and success, as almost to silence the two ships. Van Galen, observing the undaunted spirit of the English commander, desperately wounded as he was, directed his ship to fall down to the assistance of his friends: in his progress he was in imminent danger from a fireship sent off from Badily's squadron, and which obliged him to desist from his purpose; so that he was deprived of the glory of deciding the fortune of the day; but, another ship coming to the assistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, the attack was renewed with vigour. Some Dutch writers relate, that the English commander, finding himself pressed by such unequal numbers, attempted to blow up his ship; but in this desperate design he was opposed by his officers and the crew, so that he was obliged to yield. Young Van Tromp attacked the *Sampson*, but was beaten off after an obstinate contest, though soon after she was burnt by a fireship. The *Levant* merchant also not only beat off a ship that encountered her, but stranded it; after which she was

herself taken; as also the Pilgrim, having lost her main and mizen-masts in the fight. The only remaining English ship of the fleet that sailed out of Leghorn, was the *London*, which escaped herself from the enemy, and joined Ruddy's squadron, which had kept aloof during the engagement. To return now to the transactions at sea.

After his expedition northward, Blake cruised in the Channel, where he greatly annoyed the Dutch in their trade; and the French having committed some hostilities on the banks of Newfoundland, this dauntless officer attacked a strong squadron of their ships, as they were passing to the relief of Dunkirk, all of which he either took or destroyed; by which means that important straits fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding which the French were not disposed to retaliate; but, on the contrary, sought the renewal of bonds of friendship between them and the commonwealth.

Subsequently, Blake fell in with the grand fleet of Holland, off the North Foreland, which was commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter. Blake divided his fleet into two squadrons; the first of which he commanded in person. The second was under Vice-admiral Penn; and the third under Rear-admiral Bourne. On the 28th of September, about three in the afternoon, the engagement began. The Dutch were sheltered behind a line of ships; and in the attack many of the English ships were wounded, so that they were obliged to desist, until the Dutch, growing in retreat, bravely invited an action. The English rear-admiral first began the onset, and was gallantly seconded by the whole fleet. A Dutch man of war attempting to board the *Sovereign*, was instantly sunk by the first broadside which she discharged; two other Dutch men of war were sunk, and a fourth blown up during the fight. Their rear-admiral and two of their captains were made prisoners. De Witt was hereupon glad to retire, and in his flight

Engagement between the English and Dutch Fleets, off the North Foreland. Sep: 28. 1652.

Admiral Swanton 1729.

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was followed by the English fleet, till night intervened; and the next day the chase was continued quite to the harbours of Holland. Blake then returned in triumph to the Downs, and from thence into port, having had about three hundred men killed, and as many wounded; to the accommodation of the latter of whom the parliament paid particular attention: they likewise sent their thanks to the admiral and his officers.

The naval operations of this active year were not suspended by the approach of winter. In the beginning of November, Blake indeed thought that the season of action was over, and therefore detached twenty sail of his ships to protect the colliery from Newcastle; he sent twelve more to Plymouth, and fifteen sailed up the Thames, to repair the damage they had received in a storm; he himself still riding in the Downs with about thirty-seven ships. Van Tromp, who was again invested with the chief command, having intelligence of the reduced state of the English fleet, put to sea with seventy-seven ships of war, in order to attack it. On the 29th of November he came in sight, in the place where the first battle had been fought. Blake, after holding a council of war, resolved not to decline the combat, notwithstanding the great inequality of the two fleets; but a storm arising, they were obliged to defer fighting till the next day. Early in the morning the battle began with great fury. Blake in the *Triumph*, with his seconds, the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, were, for a long time, engaged with near twenty of the enemy, the superiority of whose force had well nigh borne down the admiral, but for the seasonable intervention of other ships of his Squadron. On this succour arriving, the fight continued as furious as ever; and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, remained doubtful for many hours. The *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, commanded by Akson and Batten, bore down to Van Tromp's ship, and with an

unparalleled intrepidity boarded her. The Dutch vice-admiral, Evertzen, seeing the danger to which his commander was exposed, hastened to his support, and thereby rescued him from his assailants, but not before great havock had been made among the Dutch; the admiral's secretary and purser were killed by his side. Among the English, most of the brave fellows that made this bold attempt were cut to-pieces, and their two ships were at length taken. These were the only ships that fell into the hands of the Dutch, during this well-fought but unfortunate action; but three other ships were sunk. At length night parted the combatants. The gallant Blake, thinking he had fully maintained the nation's honour, and his own, by engaging an enemy so superior, and coming off with so little loss, retired to the river. The Dutch exulted beyond measure at this inconsiderable advantage; and such was the silly vanity of their admiral, that he is said to have passed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-mast head, as it were, to sweep the sea of the English; but this triumph, so vauntingly displayed, was to be very short-lived.

All the homeward-bound trade of Holland was appointed to rendezvous at the Isle of Rhe, in the Bay of Biscay; thither Van Tromp and De Ruyter (who was now the second in command) with their formidable and victorious fleet, repaired to escort them home.

The English parliament was impatient to wipe off the disgrace which their arms had sustained by this check: they collected their naval force from all quarters, which, when brought together, outnumbered that which was led by Van Tromp. At the request of Blake they sent for General Monk from Scotland to join in the command; and Deane was rear-admiral. Such was the expedition used in forwarding this armament, that they sailed down the Channel before Van Tromp could return from the Bay. The Dutch admiral was surprised to see so powerful an enemy drawn

up to receive him off Portland. He had seventy-six men of war, and was escorting about three hundred merchant-ships. By break of day, on the 18th of February 1653, the English descried the Dutch fleet steering along the coast of France, near Cape La Hogue, and immediately bore down to give them battle. The fight which ensued was the most furious that had been fought between these warlike and rival republics. The Admirals Blake and Deane were both on-board the *Triumph*, which, with twelve other ships, first began the engagement about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the *Fairfax*, and Captain Mildmay in the *Vanguard*. Almost at the first onset, Blake received a wound in the thigh; and his captain Ball, and his secretary Sparrow, were both slain by his side: great numbers of his seamen were killed, and scarcely any remained without a wound; the ship too was so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the fight of the two following days. The brave Captain Mildmay, in the *Vanguard*, (who had boldly attacked and taken the Dutch vice-admiral in a former action,) was slain. The *Prosperous*, of forty-four guns, was boarded by De Ruyter, and taken; but, while he himself was near incurring the same fate, she was retaken by the *Merlin* frigate. Van Tromp's own ship was long engaged with Blake; great destruction was made among his officers and seamen, and his ship was greatly disabled. One Dutch man of war was blown up, six more were either sunk or taken. Such as fell into the hands of the English had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that no one could look upon them without horror.

The ensuing night was spent in repairing the damages which had been sustained on each side, and in preparations for renewing the fight the next morning. Returning light discovered the enemy seven leagues off

off Weymouth, whither the English plied, and came up with them in the afternoon, about three leagues to the south-west of the Isle of Wight. Van Tromp had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of a crescent, inclosing the merchant-ships within a semicircle, and in that position he maintained a retreating fight towards the French coasts. The English made several bold and hazardous attempts to break through the merchantmen; in one of which De Ruyter's ship was again so roughly saluted, that she was obliged to be towed out of the line: Captain Lawson at the same time, boarded one of the Dutch men of war, and brought her off. At length the merchant-ships finding their convoy no longer in a condition to protect them, began to shift for themselves, and, for the greater expedition, threw a considerable part of their cargo overboard. Eight Dutch men of war, and fourteen or sixteen merchant-ships, fell into the hands of the English in this day's action. Night, which in the engagement in the Downs had befriended Blake, now rendered the like service to the harassed Dutch; but skirmishes happened from the close of the day to the return of it.

The next morning the Dutch were near Boulogne, with the English close at their heels. The fight was soon renewed, and lasted, with great fury and bravery on both sides, till four in the afternoon, when the former retreated to the Sands before Calais; and from thence tided it home, the wind favouring them, and the English being fearful of venturing on those shallow coasts. In this pursuit three Dutch men of war were taken by the Captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver; and Penn picked up several merchantmen. The Dutch lost, in these three days actions, eleven ships of war, and thirty merchant-ships. Fifteen hundred of their men were killed, and a great number made prisoners. On the side of the English only one ship was lost, the Sampson, which her captain finding disabled, sunk; but their loss of men was little inferior to the Dutch.

Dutch. In this action Blake availed himself very much of a large body of soldiers, who acted in quality of marines, and whose small arms did great execution.

By this time the states-general had incurred such enormous debts for the maintenance of the war, and their trade had suffered so severely by the English, that nothing but dejection and murmurs were to be met with in Holland. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much molested by the English privateers; their fisheries were totally at a stand. Above sixteen hundred of their ships had been taken; and all this distress they suffered not to further any national interests, but by contending about mere points of honour: they therefore thought proper to make new concessions to the parliament. But, before this negociation could be set on foot, a strange revolution happened in England.

Cromwell and his officers, in order to bring about their designs, were now daily complaining of the grievances from the long parliament, and seemed very zealous upon the common pretences of right and justice, and public liberty, to put a period to their session; "Which if they would not shortly do themselves, the army and people must do it for them."

The parliament being very sensible of these proceedings, a great debate arose thereupon in the house; where several of the members, out of justice, reason, or a foreseen necessity, appeared to be for a dissolution, and a new representative chosen; but in the end it was declared, that the dissolution of the parliament was too high a matter for any private person to meddle with. Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had so long enjoyed, on the 19th of April, held a consultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in Whitehall, to consider of some expedient for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament.

ment. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and Commissioner Whitlock, declared what a dangerous thing it was to dissolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: but the general and most of his officers with several members of the house, delivered their opinion, " That it was necessary to take some new measures, and that it was not fit that the present assembly of parliament should be permitted to prolong their own power." The conference lasted till late at night, when, without coming to any conclusion, the meeting was adjourned to the next morning. Most of them being then again met, the point in debate was, " Whether forty persons, or about that number, of parliament-men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the parliament, and impowered for managing the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament be forthwith dissolved." The lord-general being informed, during this debate, that the parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him left him at his lodgings and went to the house; where, contrary to their expectation, instead of coming to any resolutions of immediately dissolving themselves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the present parliament was to be continued above a year and a half longer, and then to be dissolved. Colonel Ingoldsby came back to the general, and informed him what the house was upon: at which the general, who expected they should have meddled with no other business, but putting an immediate period to their own sitting without any more delay, was so enraged, that he immediately commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers (to the number of three hundred), with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed
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some of them at the door, some in the lobby, and others on the stairs. Himself, going into the house, first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, "That he came to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed to God against: nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: but that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." Then he sat down and heard their debates for some time on the forementioned act: after which, calling to Major-general Harrison, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it." Harrison answered, "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then, the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time; I must do it." And so, standing up on a sudden, he bade the speaker leave the chair, and told the house, "That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good: that some of them were whoremasters, (looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit that they should sit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away. He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the public good, and espousing the interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression; and accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power." When some of the members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating:" then, walking

ing up and down the house, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament;" and, stamping with his feet, he bade them, "for shame be gone, and give place to honest men." Upon this signal the soldiers entered the house, and he bade one of them, "Take away that bauble," meaning the mace; and, Harrison taking the speaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as Ludlow informs us) the general, addressing himself again to the members, who were about a hundred, said, "It is you that have forced me to this, for I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon doing this work." And, then seizing on all their papers, he ordered the soldiers to see the house cleared of all members; and, having caused the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall. "Thus, as Whitelock observes, it pleased God, that this assembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters: an example never to be forgotten, and scarcely to be paralleled in any story! By which all persons may be instructed, how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them the highest."

Thus the whole civil and military power centered in Cromwell, who by this bold transaction became, in effect, King of Great Britain, with uncontrollable authority. Being willing, however, to amuse the people with the form of commonwealth, he proposed to give his subjects a parliament; but such an one as should be altogether obedient to his commands. For this purpose it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook to make the choice himself. The persons pitched upon were the lowest, meanest, and most igno-

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rant, among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. To go farther than others in the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification on which each of these valued himself. Their very names, borrowed from scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to shew their excess of folly. One of them particularly, who was called Praise God Barebones, a canting leatherfeller, gave his name to this odd assembly, and it was called Barebones Parliament. They were chiefly composed of antinomians; a sect that, after receiving the spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error; and the fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's second coming on earth. They began by choosing eight of their tribe to seek Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, and courts of justice; and, instead of all this, it was their intent to substitute the law of Moses.

It was impossible such a legislation as this could stand; even the vulgar began to exclaim against it, and Cromwell himself to be ashamed of their absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among them who were entirely devoted to his interests and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. These accordingly met by concert earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and, observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse their speaker at their head, and into his hand resigned the authority with which he had invested them. Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure: but, being told that some of their number were refractory, he sent Colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by the time that the colonel had arrived; and he being asked by the colonel, What they did there? Moyer replied very gravely, That they were seeking the Lord. "Then you may go else-

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where (cried White); for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord hath not been here for these many years."

The shadow of a parliament being thus dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. The mayor and aldermen were sent for to give solemnity to his appointment, and he was instituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness; and his power was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. It was now, indeed, in a great measure necessary that some person should take the supreme command; for affairs were brought into such a situation, by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing but absolute power could prevent a renewal of former bloodshed and confusion. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen, persons. These were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in case of vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with such powers as the king was possessed of. The power of the sword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at other times. He was obliged to summon a parliament once every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without adjournment. A standing army was established of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office for life; and on his death, his place was to be supplied by the council. Of all these clauses the standing army was sufficient for Cromwell's purpose; for, while possessed of that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time. He chose his council from among his officers,

who had been the companions of his dangers and victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a-year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care; while his activity, vigilance, and resolution, were so well exerted, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

These innovations in the civil government, however, threw a languor over the naval operations in the spring of 1653, and frustrated the negotiation for a peace, which the States of Holland and Zealand had set on foot, and ardently wished to render effectual. Van Tromp availed himself of this short season, wherein the vigilance of the English was relaxed, to convey a large fleet of merchantmen round by the north, (for the route by the Channel was too dangerous to be attempted,) which he escorted out and home in safety: he then entered the Downs with his men of war, made some prizes, and, to shew his prowess, battered Dover-castle; but he was soon chastised for this vaunt. An English fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships, commanded by Monk and Deane, assisted by Vice-admiral Penn and Captain Lawson, (then made a rear-admiral,) was assembled in Yarmouth Roads. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war and six fire-ships, the commanders of which were Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Everfens: each power was solicitous to decide the dispute by coming to a general action. No sooner was the Dutch fleet out of the Texel, than the English bore down to engage it. On the 2d of June 1653, the battle began, about eleven o'clock in the morning. One of the first broadsides from the enemy killed the brave Admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, who was on-board the
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same ship, with great presence of mind covered his body with a cloak, and, as there was still an admiral to command, no flag was taken down, so that the fleet remained ignorant of what had happened, and the fight continued with unabating warmth. The blue squadron had charged through the enemy, and Rear-admiral Lawson laid himself along-side De Ruyter, to whom, in former actions, he had been a desperate, and almost a successful, assailant. At this time he had well-nigh taken the Dutch admiral, but being diverted from his prey, he sunk a ship of forty-two guns. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Van Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship, commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen, blew up. In the night Blake arrived with a squadron of eighteen ships. The Dutch still retreating towards the coast of Flanders, the fight was renewed the next day about noon, off Neuport, in the Austrian Netherlands, with greater fury than the day before, and continued very hot for four hours. Vice-admiral Penn twice boarded Tromp's ship, and would have taken it, but for the support which it received from De Witt and De Ruyter. The Dutch at length were so hotly pressed on all sides, that they fell into the utmost confusion, and, being entirely routed, sought their safety among the Flats, from whence, with great difficulty, they reached Zealand. In these actions six of the best ships in the Dutch fleet were sunk, two were blown up, and eleven taken; six of their captains were made prisoners, with upwards of fifteen hundred men. Of the ships, one bore a vice-admiral's flag, and two those of rear-admirals. On the side of the English not a ship was lost, and very few men were slain. This important victory may therefore be said to be purchased with the loss of the brave Admiral Deane, and one captain.

After

After this disaster, Van Tromp, in a memorial to the states-general, set forth, that the ships and guns of the Dutch fleet were too slender to cope with those of the English; and De Ruyter declared, that he would not put to sea again, if his fleet was not reinforced with greater and better ships. In consequence of this important victory, the English fleets lay on the Dutch coasts, and put an entire stop to their trade. The states, impatient of such loss and dishonour, exerted themselves to the utmost to retrieve their affairs. Never, on any occasion, did the power and vigour of that republic appear a more conspicuous light: in a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet, and equipped some ships of a larger size than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Tromp set sail with this force, determined to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the contest. The two fleets were pretty equal in force, and the desire of possessing the sovereignty of the ocean animated both states to a fierce and obstinate conflict. The general engagement began on the 31st of July, and continued eight hours with terrible fury; and, as it was the last, so was it the most fierce, combat during this impetuous war. At the beginning of the action the Dutch fire-ships had well nigh decided the fortune of the day: being managed with great dexterity, many of the largest vessels in the English fleet were in imminent danger of being set on fire; the *Triumph* had liked to have perished, insomuch that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, but, by the exertions of those that remained on-board, the flames were extinguished. Admiral Lawson attacked De Ruyter with such fury, as to kill or wound above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet; but that brave Dutchman would not be withheld from the scene of action by the disaster of his ship, therefore, going on-board another, he continued to maintain the fight. It is said by Burchet, that Monk, to put a speedy end to the

the war, had issued orders to all his captains, neither to give nor to take quarter; so that, in a few hours, the air was filled with the fragments of ships blown up, and human bodies; and the sea was dyed with blood. When the fight had continued about six hours, Van Tromp, as he was delivering out his orders, was shot through the body with a musket bullet, and instantly expired. This so damped the ardour of the whole fleet, that it presently began to give way. At the beginning of the battle the Dutch had five flags flying on-board their fleet, and when they began to retreat only one remainad. By night the shattered navy of Holland recovered the Texel. Twenty-six of their ships were sunk; five of their captains were taken prisoners, and near five thousand men were slain or drowned. The orders forbidding quarter were not strictly observed, for twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea whilst their ships were sinking. This signal victory was purchased with considerable loss on the side of the English, four hundred men, and eight captains, perished in the fight, and above seven thousand were wounded.

Cromwell gave the most effectual orders for the English navy being repaired, that he might avail himself of the consternation which the death of Tromp, and the defeat of their fleet, had spread among the provinces. The parliament which Cromwell had nominated were then sitting, and immediately voted gold chains to be presented to the Generals Blake and Monk, Vice-admiral Penn, and Rear-admiral Lawson; and medals to the captains. The 25th of August following was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving; and, Monk being then in London, Cromwell, at a feast in the city, himself put the chain about his neck, and required him to wear it during the entertainment. Meanwhile the negotiations for a peace were renewed. The united states, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their losses, and

and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they experienced to be an overmatch for them. Charles, still acknowledged king of Great Britain by France, signified an inclination to serve on-board the Dutch fleet; but that republic, though they expressed a sense of the honour intended them, declined an offer which tended to foment the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The war, though maintained no more than three years, had been carried on with such activity on both sides, as could not fail of greatly impoverishing the victor, and almost ruining the vanquished. Cromwell, rather than load the people with new impositions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour at that juncture of his newly-acquired power, was well disposed towards peace, and it was ratified on the 5th of April 1654. By this treaty the Dutch consented to pay the long-disputed compliment to the British flag. They abandoned the interest of Charles; they engaged to pay eighty-five thousand pounds, as indemnification for losses sustained by the English East-India Company, and to restore to them the island of Polerone. Those who had been concerned in the massacre at Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive, and three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds was to be paid to the sufferers in that business, or their representatives; and a defensive league was entered into between the two states.

The war between the two republics being terminated, Cromwell was at leisure to bend his attention to other powers of Europe, to whom he bore no friendly disposition. The Queen of England and her son Charles resided generally at Paris, and received from the French court a small yearly pension. This assistance was very displeasing to the English government; accordingly we have seen Blake attack and seize a whole squadron of French ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk. The French ministry

thought it expedient to renounce the interests of the royal family, to avoid a rupture with England; Charles was therefore treated with such studied indifference in France, that he quitted the kingdom, and went first to Spa, and then to Cologne. Cardinal Mazarine, prime minister to Louis XIV. was extremely solicitous to engage Cromwell in an alliance with France against Spain; and, in short, all the nations of Europe, which had slighted the alliance of England under the reigns of James and Charles, solicited it under the protector. Mazarine on the part of France, and Don Louis O'Hara on that of Spain, used all their arts of policy to unite themselves to him; and Cromwell, for some time, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms in Europe.

But here we must digress to speak of some matters which happened more particularly at home. About this time several persons were apprehended, and charged with a conspiracy to murder the protector as he should be going to Hampton-court, to seize the guards, the Tower of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the king. The chief of these were, Fox, Gerard, and Vowel; who, being tried by a high court of justice, and condemned, Fox was reprieved; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-cross; both of them denying what they were accused of, and dying with great magnanimity and resolution. On the same day there was another execution of an extraordinary nature: Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portugal ambassador's brother, a Knight of Malta, and a person eminent in many great actions, who, out of curiosity to see England, came over with the ambassador, happened to have a quarrel in the New Exchange with the forementioned Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with servants armed with swords and pistols; where they killed another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded several others. Upon
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this there was raised a great tumult, and, the Portuguese flying to the ambassador's house, the people came flocking thither from all parts to seize the murderers. Cromwell, being informed of the matter, sent an officer, with a party of soldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more especially demanded of the ambassador the person of his brother, threatening, if he was not delivered up, to break open the house, and take him out by force. The ambassador insisted upon the privilege due to his house by the law of nations, and desired time to send to the protector, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requested an audience. His highness sent him word, "That a gentleman had been murdered, and others wounded, and that justice must be satisfied; requiring, that all persons concerned might be delivered up to his officer; without which, if he should withdraw his soldiers, the people would execute justice by a way for which he would not be answerable: but, this being done, he should have an audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambassador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude encreasing their cry, "That they would pull down the house," he was to his great grief forced to deliver up his brother with the rest, who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador was most earnest in his solicitations for his brother, being willing that the others should be left to the law; but all the answer he could have, was, "That justice must be done." And justice was done to the utmost; for, being all tried by a jury of half English and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and, among them the ambassador's brother, were condemned to die. All were hanged at Tyburn, says Lord Clarendon; Whitelock says they were all reprieved, except Don Pantaleon, who, immediately after the execution of Gerard, was conveyed from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a mourning coach and six horses, attended by several of his brother's re-

tinue; and there on the same scaffold lost his head, with as much terror and dejection of spirit, as Gerard had done with courage and resolution. This greatly raised the opinion of the protector's justice, as well as of his power. And it is very remarkable, that, on the very day of this execution, the Portugal ambassador was obliged to sign the articles of peace between the two nations.

The Cavalier plot was now on foot. The project was, to have several parties rise together in different parts of the nation, about the beginning of March; and though, upon the private intelligence the protector had received, several persons were apprehended, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cartload of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where it was reported the conspirators were to be headed by Wilmot earl of Rochester. But, being somewhat alarmed at their first meeting, and apprehensive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were sufficiently prepared, they dispersed themselves, leaving their arms behind them. The design was not so soon over in the west, where Sir J. Wagstaff, Col. Penruddock, Capt. Grove, Mr. Jones, and other persons of condition, entered Salisbury with a body of two hundred horse well armed, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the assizes, and they came thither about five o'clock in the morning; where, having proclaimed the king, they seized the judges, Rolls and Nicolas, and took away their commissions. They also seized the sheriff; and Wagstaff was for hanging all three of them; but, others not agreeing to it, they were at last set at liberty. Their forces not at all answering their first expectations, they retired to Dogtown, and from thence marched as far as Blandford in Dorsetshire, where most men looked upon them as flying, several of their own party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those who continued with

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with them; did so rather to secure themselves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of success in their undertaking. Captain Unton Crook, having intelligence of their motions, pursued them into Devonshire, and at South Molton fell upon them and totally defeated them: most of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them Penruddock, Grove, and Jones; Wagstaff, Mason, and Mompeyson, narrowly escaping. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, and others were hanged in that city; some of them were sent to Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed, and there tried and executed; and many were transported to the West-Indies. Thus these insurrections, which at first seemed to threaten the whole kingdom, expired for the present, and the protector was secured without the help of his army. This plot, which was laid to ruin the protector, proved in the issue of great advantage to him, advanced his credit, and served to confirm his authority the more. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himself for an excuse and pretence to continue such numerous forces in pay; and the little success the king's party met with, was judged a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, "That all who had born arms for the king, or had declared themselves to be of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces, as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up;" the protector declaring, "That the charge should be laid upon those who had occasioned it, and not upon the honest party, who had already been so much sufferers." Commissioners were appointed in every county for this purpose; and by this means incredible sums of money were brought into the protector's coffers. And finally, he divided England, as it were, into so many cantons,

cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of major-general; which major-generals were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all moneys which were ordered by his highness and his council to be collected for the public, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the protector himself.

Though the protector proceeded in a very arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority; yet, in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned, he seemed to have great reverence for the law and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party; and, to do him justice, there appeared in his government many things truly great and praise-worthy. Justice, as well distributive as communicative, was by him restored almost to its ancient grace and splendour, the judges executing their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws, except some few, where himself was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Men's manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion, were either banished, or severely rebuked. Trade began again to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The protector also shewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The university of Oxford, in particular, acknowledged his respect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing

on the public library there four-and-twenty Greek manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He also ordered a scheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at Durham, for the convenience of the northern students.

About the year 1655, a design was formed by Cromwell of settling the Jews again in this nation; and, Manasseh Ben-Israel, a great rabbi, came over and made his stated proposals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exercise trade and worship in England. But the design was so violently opposed, that this treaty came to nothing. It is said that the protector had the promise of two hundred thousand pounds from the Jews, in case he procured this toleration for them; which made him so earnest to bring it about: but Bishop Burnet informs us, that he entered into this treaty with them for the sake of intelligence. His words are these: "When he understood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low interest in proportion to the risque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and selling of the actions of money so advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to England, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. All the while he was negotiating this, they were sure and good spies for him, especially with relation to Spain and Portugal." Upon this the bishop tells a story, which he had from the Lord Broghill, who had now become Earl of Orrery: that, as that earl was once walking with Cromwell in one of the galleries at Whitehall, a man almost in rags appeared in view; upon which he immediately dismissed the earl, and took that person with him into his closet; who told him of a great sum of money, that the Spaniards were sending over in a Dutch man
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of war, to pay their army in Flanders; and also whereabouts in the ship the said money was repositied. The protector then immediately sent an exprefs to Smith (afterwards Sir Jeremy Smith), who lay in the Downs, informing him, " That within a day or two two such a Dutch ship would pass the Channel, which he must search for the Spanish money, which was contraband goods;" his highness being then at war with Spain. Accordingly, when the ship passed by Dover, Smith sent and demanded leave to search him. The Dutch captain returned him this answer, " That none but his masters might search him." Upon which, Smith sent him word again, " That he had set up an hour-glass, and, if he did not submit to the search before it was run out, he would force him." The captain, seeing it was in vain to struggle, submitted in time, and so all the money was found. And the next time his highness saw Lord Orrery, he told him, he had his intelligence from that seemingly forlorn man he saw him go to some days before.

To return: the protector's greatest difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which side to chuse, France or Spain. The latter offered, that if his highness would join with them, they would engage themselves to make no peace, till he should recover Calais again to the English. The protector was very well pleased with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to restore that town again to the English empire, after it had been a hundred years possessed by the French. Cardinal Mazarine, having intelligence of this offer made by the Spaniards, that he might outbid them, promised, in case the protector would join with France, to assist him in taking of Dunkirk, a place of much more importance. His highness was still for some time in suspense, but that which inclined him very much to join with France, was this: he saw that if France should assist the king or his brother with an army of hugonots, to make a descent into England,

England; (which was threatened if he joined with Spain,) this might be of very dangerous consequence to him, who had so many enemies at home, and so few friends; whereas the Spaniards could give those princes no strength, nor had they any Protestant subjects to assist them in such an enterprize. This consideration made a great impression on him; and, whilst he was casting in his mind what was to be done, one Gage, formerly a priest, came over from the West-Indies, and gave him such a relation of the weakness as well as of the riches of the Spaniards in those parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and easy conquest, to seize on their dominions there. By this he hoped to supply himself with such a treasure, that his government would be established before he should need to have any recourse to a parliament for money. And, as the Spaniards would never admit of a peace with England between the tropics, he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he declared war against them in Europe. Upon this, he prepared a fleet, with a force sufficient, as he thought, to have seized Hispaniola and Cuba; Gage having assured him, that success in that expedition would soon make him master of all the rest. When the time of setting out this fleet came on, all men wondered whether it should be designed. Some imagined it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehension occasioned a fortification to be drawn round it: others talked of Rome itself; for the protector's preachers often gave out, "That, if it were not for the divisions at home, he would go and sack Babylon." Others thought the design was against Cadiz, though he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the secret; and the protector, not having finished his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reason of his preparations. All he said about it was this, "That he sent out the fleet

to guard the seas, and to restore England to its dominions on that element."

This fleet, consisting of about thirty men of war under the command of Vice-admiral Penn, with about four thousand land-soldiers to be commanded by Venables, set sail, in the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commissions. Being safely arrived there, and new men taken in to encrease the land-army, they sailed to the island of Hispaniola. Coming about the middle of April before Saint Domingo, the chief port of that country, Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the lord protector, and marched them through such thick woods and uneasy passages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal force, beat them back. After this they advanced again towards the town, taking negroes for their guides, who led them into an ambuscade; so that they were again shamefully repulsed to the bay where they landed, with the loss of Major-general Haines, and above six hundred men. They were soon forced to re-embark; and then, to make some amends for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island of Jamaica, and obtained an easy possession of it; which island has ever since remained in the hands of the English: where leaving a good body of foot to secure it, they sailed back to England. The lord protector was never so much disturbed as at this disaster at Hispaniola; so that Penn and Venables were no sooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevailed on to trust either of them again.

About the time that Penn and Venables set out on this unfortunate expedition, Admiral Blake sailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to scour those seas of the Turkish pirates; and, not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolved to seek them out in their ports.

ports. He came first before Algiers, and sending to the Dey demanded that all the English ships might be restored, and all the English slaves released. The Dey hereupon sent a rich present to Blake, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, "That the ships and captives already taken belonged to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they should be restored at a moderate ransom; and, if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the English ships and natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake sailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the same demand as at Algiers, instead of the like submission, he received this resolute answer: "That there were their castles of Goletta, and their ships and castles of Porto Ferino; he might do his worst, for he should not think to fright them with the sight of his fleet." Provoked at this answer, Blake resolved to destroy their ships in Porto Ferino. Accordingly they manned their long-boats with stout seamen, and sent them into the harbour to fire those ships, whilst the admiral himself with all his fleet thundered most furiously with his cannon against their castles. The seamen, in the mean time, so bravely performed their parts, that all the nine Turkish ships of war were soon reduced to ashes, with the loss of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the English side. These were actions of the highest conduct and courage, which made the English name very formidable in those seas.

There was another reason of Blake's sailing into the Mediterranean, which was, to demand satisfaction of all princes and states that had molested the English in the time of war and confusion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he sailed to Leghorn, and dispatched his secretary to demand of the Great Duke of Tuscany sixty thousand pounds for damages sustained by the English in his dutchy; Prince Rupert having

taken and sold as many English ships as amounted to that value, to the great duke's subjects. The said duke was willing to pay part of the sum, and desired time to consult the pope about the rest. Blake said the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole sum, which was paid him, thirty-five thousand Spanish and twenty-five thousand Italian pistoles. The duke pretended that the pope ought to pay part of the damage, some of the ships having been sold to his subjects; accordingly the next succeeding pope repaid the great duke twenty thousand pistoles. Admiral Blake sent home sixteen ships laden with the effects he had received from the several states for satisfaction and damages, and they were ordered to sail up the Thames together, for a pleasing spectacle to the people.

The King of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon his dominions in the West-Indies, declared war against England; and the protector on the other hand dispatched orders to Admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spanish plate-fleet, and make what destruction he could upon the coasts of Spain; and thought fit now to finish his alliance with France, sending Lockhart his ambassador thither for that end. His highness undertook to send over an army of six thousand foot; and, when the forts in Dunkirk and Mardyke should be taken, they were to be put into his hands: and the French king likewise obliged himself by this treaty not to permit King Charles, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

About this time, the protector had two signal occasions given him, to exercise his charity, and display his power, and shew his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad. The Duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the Vaudois, cruelly murdering and massacring many of them, and driving the rest from their dwellings into the mountains. Upon this the protector sent

to Mazarine, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, "That he knew well they had the duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and, if they did not, he must presently break with them." The cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: he promised to do good offices; but said, he could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the protector, till they obliged the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had unjustly taken from his Protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose he also wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, though he had otherwise no concern with him. But, the title of royal highness being by mistake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of Savoy was for returning it back unopened; but the Marquis de Pianezza representing to them, that Cromwell was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront; that he would certainly lay Villa Franca in ashes, and set the Swiss Protestant Cantons upon Savoy; the letter was read; which, together with the cardinal's influence, had the desired success. The lord protector also raised a great sum of money for the Vaudois, and sent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.---The other instance was this: there happened a tumult at Nismes, in which the hugonots had committed some disorder; who, being apprehensive of very severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great secrecy and expedition to Cromwell, to desire his interposition and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his highness, having received the whole account, bade him, "Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it dispatched." Accordingly, that night he dispatched an agent, with a letter to the cardinal, and one inclosed for the king. The letter to the cardinal was in Latin; to which he

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added this postscript in French with his own hand; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Nismes. Je recommande à votre eminence les interets des reformez.* "I have heard of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your eminence the interests of the reformed." He also sent instructions to his ambassador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be passed over, or *to come away immediately.* The cardinal complained of this way of proceeding; but the necessity of their affairs made him comply.

Cromwell, having concluded the treaty with France, resolved now on a vigorous prosecution of the war with Spain. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards. He lay for some time off the harbour of Cadiz, where lay a fleet of forty sail; and on that station he hoped to intercept the flota; but, that not arriving so soon as he expected, he found his stock of water begin to fail, and was obliged to sail for Portugal to procure a supply. The admirals still left a squadron of seven frigates, under the command of Commodore Stayner, to intercept the galleons. A few days after, they came in sight, and the English commander gave them chase, and presently came up with them. They consisted of eight large ships. The weather was so unfavourable for the attack, that four vessels of his small force could not come up to bear a part in the action; yet, with the other three, the Speaker, the Bridgewater, and the Plymouth, he made a furious attack on the Spaniards. After an obstinate engagement, two of the galleons were sunk; two more ran on shore; two were taken, and only two escaped into Cadiz. One of the ships that were sunk had been set on fire in the action, on-board of which was the Marquis of Badajox, of the family of Lopez, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter. This nobleman had an opportunity of escaping the flames; but seeing his wife and child sink under

under the distress that surrounded them, and perish, he preferred death with them to life without them, and refused to leave the ship. His son and brother were saved. On-board the two ships which fell into the hands of the English, were near two millions of pieces of eight; and treasure, to an equal amount, was buried in the ocean. Admiral Montague, with the young Marquis of Badajoz, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, arrived at Portsmouth; from whence the treasure was conveyed by land, with great parade, to London.

Blake having received intelligence that another Spanish fleet from South-America had put into the Canary-islands, immediately proceeded thither. He found the ships in the bay Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriff. They consisted of six galleons, richly laden, and ten other vessels. These latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons were drawn up without the boom, because they drew too much water to lie within it. The harbour itself was strongly fortified, having to the north a castle well furnished with artillery, and seven forts, which communicated with each other, all of which were defended by a numerous garrison. The Spanish governor, Don Diego Diagues, considered the place as so secure by nature and art, and so well provided with the means of defence, that when the master of a Dutch ship applied to him for leave to sail, because he dreaded Blake's attacking the ships in the harbour, he scornfully answered, "Go if you will, and let Blake come in if he dare." The English admiral, after surveying the situation of the enemy, and the strength of the place, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attack the ships in the harbour, and endeavour to destroy them, it being considered as impracticable to carry them off. Captain Stayner, who had so effectually attacked the Spanish galleons, was appointed, with a small squadron, to this honourable and desperate service. He soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates

gates played their guns on the forts and lincs, and thereby prevented them from annoying the ships in their attack. Stayner's Squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet; the wind seconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought them among the thickest of the enemy. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed, with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They were exposed to the fire of the castle and the forts, which, with all their caution, they could not expect to silence; but, whilst they remained in this perilous situation, the wind, suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay, leaving the Spaniards in astonishment at the intrepidity and good fortune of the English. The whole loss sustained in this daring attempt, was no more than forty-eight men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

When the news of this glorious success was brought to the protector, he sent his secretary, Thurloe, to the parliament, which was then sitting, with the account, who thereupon appointed a day of general thanksgiving, and voted a ring, of five hundred pounds value, to the commander in chief; a present of one hundred pounds to the captain that brought the news; and their thanks to all the officers and seamen concerned in the action. Captain Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector.

As this was the last, so it was the most distinguished, achievement of the renowned Blake. Shortly after, he again cruised before the harbour of Cadiz, where finding his ships become foul, and that his own health and spirits wore away, he resolved to sail for England. By this time he was languishing under an inveterate scurvy, attended with a dropsy. In his passage home he became much worse; and, as he perceived his end approaching, he frequently enquired, with great earnestness,

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ness, after the appearance of land, anxious to breathe out his last in his native country. But this satisfaction he did not enjoy; he died as his ship (the St. George) entered Plymouth Sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, aged fifty-nine years. "Never man," says Mr. Hume, "so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed, even by the opposite factions. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. 'It is still our duty,' he would say to the seamen, 'to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall.' He was disinterested, generous, and liberal; ambitious only of true glory; dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he therefore forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant."

As victory crowned the protector's arms by sea this year, so his forces by land were not unsuccessful. The six thousand men which he was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, for acting jointly with the French against the Spaniards, being transported under the command of Sir John Reynolds and Major-general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which, when taken, were to be put into Cromwell's hands, but marched to other places which they were to conquer for their own use. But the English ambassador Lockhart made such repeated representations to the cardinal, complaining of their breach of faith, not without some menaces, "That his master knew where to find a more punctual friend," that, as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders and invested Mardyke, which being taken would much facilitate the design upon Dunkirk. The French and English had not lain before this strong place above four days, when it was reduced to a surrender upon

composition, and delivered up wholly into the possession of the English. But, presently after, the French being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were sensible of what great importance this place was to the preserving of Dunkirk, detached a body of horse and foot to retake it. Among these were two thousand English and Irish, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious storms upon the fort, but were stoutly repulsed, and forced to fly, with the loss of several brave commanders.

Upon the French king's entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his family was obliged to leave France and retire to Cologne; where, having resided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with Catholic king, repaired to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handsome accommodation for himself and his small court. About this time, among other methods he used for his restoration, Mr. Echard tells us of a private application he made to Cromwell, which he says came from the mouth of the Duchess of Lauderdale, who told the same to a person of whose credit he could make no question. The story is this: that this lady, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employed to make a private offer and proposal to him, in substance as follows: "That if he would restore, or permit the king to return to his throne, he would send him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and settle what power and riches he pleased upon himself, family, and friends." This proposal was first communicated to the protector's lady, who liked it very well, believing, that, besides other advantages, it would bring absolute indemnity and security to her husband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when she was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavoured to persuade him to accept of it, as being of

the highest moment to the happiness of himself and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and persuasions, presently told her, "She was a fool;" adding this shrewd sentence: "If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done against him and his family, he does not deserve to wear the crown of England."

In the beginning of the year 1658, a party of the garrison of Ostend, with the privity of the governor, held intelligence with Cardinal Mazarine, and then with the Protector Cromwell, to betray that town into the hands of the French, wherein Cromwell was to have his share. Mazarine was to send a land army under the command of Marshal D'Aumont; and the protector was to furnish a fleet for transporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the supposed conspirators and the cardinal, on May 14th, the appointed day, the English fleet appeared before Ostend, and the garrison permitted the French to pass and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate possession of the place. But the subtle governor, having suffered the fleet to come to a proper distance, on a sudden pulled down the white flag that had invited them in, and set up a bloody flag: and, before the vessels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he sorely galled them by the cannon from the forts; and the French that landed were all, to the number of fifteen hundred, slain or taken prisoners, among which last was the Marshal D'Aumont himself.

Presently after this great disappointment, it was resolved to attempt the taking of Dunkirk; which was accordingly invested by the French, assisted by six thousand valiant Englishmen, under the inspection of Lockhart, the protector's ambassador, but more immediately under the command of Major-general Morgan. Whilst they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the French under Marshal Turenne on the side of Newport, and Morgan with his English and a

brigade of French horse on that next Mardyke, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spanish general Don John of Austria, with the Prince of Condé, the Prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, were advancing with thirty thousand men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French king and cardinal were persuaded by Turenne and others to withdraw their persons, and retire to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the first council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was resolved to raise the siege if the enemy came on. But, in the next, when those two were present, Morgan vehemently opposed that resolution, alleging, "What a dishonour it would be to the crown of France, to have summoned a place, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege and run away;" and, desiring the council to consider, "that, if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour." Upon which it was resolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege. And, the enemy coming on, a desperate fight ensued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the English before the French came in. At the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne, with above a hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and, embracing the officers, said, "They never saw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing." The Spanish army being entirely vanquished, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and industry; and the Marquis de Leda, the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was sallying out upon the besiegers, the Spaniards within desired a present capitulation; which being granted, this important place was surrendered upon articles, on the twenty-fifth of June; when

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it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the English by the French king and cardinal in person, pursuant to the treaty between them and Cromwell.

And here we cannot omit the following story in relation of this affair, in which both the perfidiousness of the French court and the policy and power of Cromwell are very remarkably seen. It is thus related by Dr. Welwood. "When the French army, being joined with the English auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French general to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, 'Here,' says he, 'is a copy of the cardinal's order: and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that, if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, I will come in person and demand them at the gates of Paris.' There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the Marshal de Turenne, and a secretary. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women: whereas it was found, after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order above-mentioned. The message had its effect: for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English; and, to palliate the matter, (continues Welwood), the Duke and Marshal of Crequy was dispatched into England, ambassador extraordinary, to compliment

compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the protector, full of the highest expressions of respect.

The protector, being now in the height of his glory, resolved to make a party for a crown, and get the title of king conferred on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for, as to the power of a king, he was really more formidable than any of the English monarchs ever were.

The parliament had sat about six months, when the debate came on in the house, about changing Cromwell's title of lord protector into that of king. A new instrument was drawn up, and read in the house, having a blank left for the title of the single person, and two other blanks for the two houses of parliament. This was brought in by Mr. Pack, a rich alderman of London, who was supposed to be very much in the court interest; and, when it came to be debated, it was sharply opposed by the soldiers party in the house; yet, when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew so bold as to move, "That the blank left for the insertion of the title of chief magistrate might be filled up with the name of king." Which motion, though very much opposed by Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was likewise carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up of the two blanks left for the two houses, with the words, "house of commons, and, other house." This done, on the 4th of April they presented this writing to the lord protector, which was stiled, "The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his highness;" at which time, the speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington made a speech to him, recommending the title and office of a king, as settled here with Christianity itself, approved and maintained by our ancestors, and every way

way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England. The protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this offer, yet finding it to be against the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his son-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Desborough, were particularly averse to it, instead of a ready assent, thought fit to demur upon it; and, the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he desired, "That a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and satisfaction in this great cause."

A committee was accordingly appointed, which, on April 11, met in the Painted-chamber; and the conference carried on with the members who made him the offer, so far as it is on his part intelligible, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept the offer: however, the conference ended in his total refusal.

With all these proffered honours, and with all this despotic power, and these brilliant successes by sea and land, the situation of Cromwell was far from being enviable. Perhaps no condition, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more distressful than his, at the time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had at last rendered himself hateful to every party, and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of one another. His arts of dissimulation were exhausted; none could be deceived by them; even those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. Though the whole nation silently detested his administration, he had not been completely wretched if he could have found domestic consolation. But even his own family had embraced republican principles with so much vehemence, that they could not without indignation behold him invested with uncontrollable power; and Mrs. Claypole,

pole, his favourite daughter, upbraided him, on her death-bed, with all the crimes which led him to trample on the throne. To add to all this, not only were conspiracies formed against him, but he was at last taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by Colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that appeared at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Cromwell read it, and is said never to have smiled afterwards.

The usurper now found, that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former tranquillity was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. He was haunted with perpetual fears of assassination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom, and he regarded every stranger with suspicion. He was always attended by a numerous guard, and travelled in a hurry. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and never slept above three nights together in the same chamber. At last he was delivered from this life of horror and anxiety by a tertian ague, of which he died September 3, 1658, after having usurped the government nine years.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after so many great actions; so many toils and fatigues, and so many plots and conspiracies against his life, at last died quietly in his bed. He expired in the sixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the dissolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared protector by the instrument of government, and but one year three months and nine days after his being confirmed in that office by the humble petition and advice.

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Oliver Cromwell was of a robust make and constitution; his aspect manly, though clownish. His education extended no farther than a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue: but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were such as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war, inflamed by religious contests. His character was formed from an amazing conjuncture of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and ambition. He was possessed of courage and resolution, that overlooked all dangers, and saw no difficulties. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful sagacity, whilst he concealed his own purposes, under the impenetrable shield of dissimulation.

Ambitious he certainly was to a very high degree; and, whatever censure we are to pass upon his actions, it is allowed by all, that he performed many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation. One author reckons them up thus: " 1. By Blake he more humbled and subdued the Algerine, Tripoli, and Tunis, pirates, than ever any before or since did. 2. Westminster-hall was never replenished with more learned and upright judges than by him; nor was justice, either in law or equity, in civil cases, more equally distributed, where he was not a party. 3. When the Norway traders represented to him the mischief and inconveniences of the act of navigation, he, during his time, dispensed with it, and permitted the English to trade to Norway for timber, masts, pitch, tar, and iron, as before the act: and, by a law made in his third parliament, licence is given to transport fish in foreign bottoms. 4. Though he played the fool in making war with Spain, and peace with France, yet he made a more advantageous treaty of commerce for the English to France than before they had. 5. Though he joined forces with the French against the Spaniards, yet he reserved the sea-towns conquered from the Spaniards to himself, and so had

Dunkirk and Mardyke delivered up to him, and would have had Ostend, if the garrison had not cheated both Mazarine and him; thereby to be arbitrator over the French, as well as Spaniards, when he pleased. 6. Cromwell outvied the best of our kings, in rendering our laws to the subject in the English tongue: for, though Edward I. permitted pleading in the English tongue, yet he went no farther; whereas Cromwell rendered not only the pleadings, but practice, and laws themselves, into English." In short, he applied himself so industriously to the business of the commonwealth, and discovered such abilities for managing of it, that his greatest enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been just and innocent. And he shewed his good understanding in nothing more than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

No prince seemed to be master of so much and so particular intelligence as Cromwell; of which we have given some remarkable instances in the foregoing history.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratified the temper which is very natural to Englishmen. Of this he was so careful, that, though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambassadors had all the respects and honours paid them which our kings ambassadors ever had. He would say, "That the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the representative head; and therefore, the nation being still the same, he would have the same respect paid to his ministers." And it is very observable, that Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador in France, and governor of Dunkirk, told Bishop Burnet, "That, when he was sent afterwards ambassador by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid to him in Cromwell's time."

Cromwell's influence was so great in France, that Cardinal Mazarine durst not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complained of to those he could be free with. He one day made a visit to Madame Turenne, and, when he took his leave of her, she, as she was wont to do, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which Mazarine told her, "That he knew not how to behave himself. If he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniards; and, if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic." It was said, that the cardinal would change countenance, when he heard Cromwell named; so that it passed into a proverb in France, "That he was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell."

Spain dreaded him, and courted his friendship, as much as France, though the latter prevailed. When the Spanish ambassador was informed, that the fleet under Penn and Venables was gone towards the West-Indies, and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, he applied himself to the protector, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; if so, he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. The protector demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition: to which the ambassador replied, "That his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him put them both out at once."

The states of Holland so dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: and when at any time the king or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess of Orange, within a day or two they used to send a deputation to acquaint them, that Cromwell had obliged them to give them no harbour.

Even the Turks stood in awe of Cromwell, and dared not offend him. And all Italy trembled at his name, and seemed under a panic-fear as long as he lived. When Admiral Blake sailed into the Mediterranean, the city of Rome and all the pope's territories were greatly alarmed; and the terror of the people was such, that public processions were made, and the host was exposed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent Blake's attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that Cromwell used to say, "That his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome. But, in the midst of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring designs. It still remains a question, where the body of Cromwell was really buried. It was, in appearance, in Westminster-abbey; some report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames; but it is most probable that it was buried in Naseby-field. The following account is given by Mr. Barkstead, son to Barkstead the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of Cromwell's death: "That the said Barkstead his father, being lieutenant of the Tower, and a great confidant of Cromwell's, did, among other such confidence, in the time of his illness, desire to know where he would be buried: to which the protector answered, 'Where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was,' viz. in the field at Naseby. Which accordingly was thus performed: at midnight, soon after his death, the body (being first embalmed and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearse conveyed to the said field, Mr. Barkstead himself attending, by order of his father, close to the hearse: being come to the field, they found, about the midst of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being
put,

put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that the surplus mould should be clean removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that the field should be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn."

It seems, at least, pretty certain, that Oliver's corpse was not really interred in Westminster-abbey; and consequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hanged at Tyburn. But whether this account of its being buried in Naseby-field, or the other of its being sunk in the Thames, is most probable, we cannot say. What is said for the former, the reader has just seen. The other was related by a person who attended Oliver in his last sickness; namely, that the day after the protector's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; when it was concluded, that, considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power; to prevent which, it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on-board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the Thames; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and some trusty soldiers, the following night.

Commercial Anecdotes.---Before the commencement of the civil wars, the English East-India Company are said to have employed fifteen thousand tons of shipping; but afterwards that trade greatly declined; and, from the year 1653 to 1657, a kind of open trade was carried on from England to the east, which greatly affected the merchants who traded on the joint stock. In what manner this free trade benefited those who embarked in it is not certainly handed down to us. Some maintain, that during those four years, when the East-India trade was laid open, the commodities brought from India were sold so cheap that the English supplied more parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself, there.

therewith, than they ever did afterwards, whereby they very much sunk the Dutch East-India Company's actions. On the other hand it is asserted, and pretty generally believed, that even the separate traders themselves were losers in the end, and, by their want of authority and power, traded with the natives to great disadvantage.

In the year 1653 the postage in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was farmed for ten thousand pounds yearly; by this settlement, single letters carried as far as eighty miles paid two-pence, and double ones four-pence; beyond eighty miles three-pence, and double ones six-pence.

About this time coals from Newcastle were usually sold at above twenty shillings the chaldron in London, and more than nine hundred sail of ships were employed in that trade. Three hundred and twenty keels, or lighters, were supposed to be employed at Newcastle, each of which carried yearly eight hundred chaldrons of coals, Newcastle measure, on-board the ships; one hundred and thirty-six of such chaldrons of coals are reckoned equal to two hundred and seventeen chaldrons of London measure. The consumption of this article of fuel, supposing the calculation to be accurately made, amounted, in the year 1655, to sixty-nine thousand four hundred and forty chaldrons of London measure.

The first introduction of the sugar-cane into the English West-India settlements, is said to be in the year 1641, when they were brought from Fernambuc, in the Brasils, and planted in Barbadoes, where they proved successful, after some years cultivation. The value of land on that island increased rapidly, when this branch of trade came to be introduced there; a plantation of five hundred acres, which before might have been purchased for four hundred pounds sterling, in a few years after was supposed to be worth fourteen thousand pounds. By the cultivation of the sugar-cane,

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cane, many fortunes were rapidly made; so that men carrying a few hundred pounds with them there, in a few years have amassed one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Such success encouraged many people to go there from England; the merchants at home fitted out more ships, and freighted them with provisions, tools, cloathing, and all other necessaries, in exchange for which they received the produce of the island; and, this being the first of our colonies which adopted the plantation of sugar, it greatly hastened the improvement of the other Caribbee islands, which soon followed the example of Barbadoes, in planting the sugarcane, to very great advantage. As it was not possible to cultivate this commodity by white people in so hot a climate, so neither were they sufficiently numerous for such purposes; necessity therefore, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the slave-trade, from the coast of Guinea. The increased population in those islands soon created a vast demand for all necessaries from England, and also a new and considerable trade to Madeira for wines. The mother-country, at this time, laid no restraints on this infant trade, but for several years it remained open to all nations. After the restoration indeed, the parliament, observing the great detriment which the kingdom suffered by such an open trade, restrained it to none but natives of England, by several acts of navigation; whereby the ports of London and Bristol became the great marts for sugar, and from thence the northern and middle parts of Europe were supplied. This reduced the Portugal sugars of Brasil, in a short time, so low, as from eight pounds to two pounds ten shillings per hundred weight; and in this prosperous state the trade remained until the French, in their turn, so greatly improved their sugar-islands, as to be able to undersel us in most parts of Europe.

RICHARD

RICHARD CROMWELL, upon his father's death, was solemnly proclaimed protector all over England, &c. and was congratulated hereupon by addresses from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their resolutions to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themselves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved commonwealth, he found himself necessitated to call a parliament. A parliament was accordingly summoned, which Richard met the 27th of January, with the same state that the English monarchs and his father had done before him. They had not sat long before great differences and contentions arose between them and the army; so that the officers, being informed that some votes were passed in opposition to their designs, immediately sent Fleetwood and Desborough to the protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood alleged, "That, if this were not presently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood." Desborough, who was of a rougher temper, told him, "It was impossible for him to keep both parliament and army his friends; and desired him to chuse which he would prefer: if he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall." On the other hand, many members assured him, that the parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: some officers of the army likewise, as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Gough, and Howard, offered to stand by him, against those who were called the general council of the army; and Howard in particular earnestly pressed him to exert himself by some vigorous action, such as supported his father's authority to the last: "You are Cromwell's son," said he; "shew yourself worthy of that name: this business requires a bold stroke, supported by a good hand; do not suffer
yourself

yourself to be daunted, and my head shall answer for the consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Vane, are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but stand by me, and second my zeal with your name." Richard answered, "That he did not love blood;" and, being a man of irresolute temper, was at last prevailed on by the opposite party to dissolve the parliament.

Having got rid of the parliament, the council of officers were for laying Richard aside too; and so they restored the remnant of the long parliament, commonly called the rump, which Oliver had ejected, to their seats again; and Richard, after a reign of about seven months and twenty days, returned to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of Whitehall, he ordered his servants to be very careful of two old trunks, which stood in his wardrobe. The men wondered at this; and one of his friends, hearing him enquire very earnestly after them, asked him what was in them, that made him so much concerned about them? "Why, no less," said Richard, "than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England;" meaning the numberless addresses that were presented to him.

Richard, some years before the death of King Charles II. returned to England; and, having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the security of innocence, and the instability of human greatness, he died at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the year 1712.

The rump-parliament were no sooner reinstated in their authority, however, than they began to humble the army by cashiering some of the officers, and appointing others on whom they could have more dependence. The officers immediately resolved to dissolve the assembly. Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and, placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when

the speaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted; and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages. A committee was then elected, of twenty-three persons; of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and a military government was established, which gave the nation a prospect of endless servitude, and tyranny without redress.

Upon hearing that the officers had by their own authority dissolved the parliament, General Monk, who was then in Scotland with eight thousand veteran troops, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend the national privileges. As soon as he put his army in motion, he found himself eagerly sought after by all parties; but, so cautious was he of declaring his mind, that, till the very last, it was impossible to know which side he designed to take. A remarkable instance of this cautious behaviour was, that, when his own brother came to him with a message from Lord Grenville in the name of the king, he refused all conversation with him upon hearing that he had told his errand to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, and a man of known probity and honour.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him, Monk amused them with negotiations; and the people, finding themselves not entirely defenceless, began to declare for a free parliament. The rump, finding themselves invited also by the navy and part of the army, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder votes in their turn against the officers and that party of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops to repair immediately to the garrisons appointed for them. The soldiers obeyed; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole



J. Chapman Sculp.

GENERAL MONK

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whole army. Monk in the mean time proceeded with his army to London. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament; but that general, still continuing his inflexible taciturnity, at last came to St. Alban's, within a few miles of the capital, leaving all the world in doubt as to his motives and designs. Here he sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. Some of the regiments willingly obeyed this order; and such as did not, Monk turned out by force: after which he took up his quarters with his army in Westminster. The house voted him thanks for his services: he desired them to call a free parliament; and this soon inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes until the members formerly excluded by Colonel Pride should be replaced. For this they were punished by Monk, at the desire of the parliament. He arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council; broke the gates and portcullises; and, having exposed it to the scorn and contempt of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters at Westminster. The next day, however, he made an apology for this conduct, and promised for the future to co-operate with the mayor and common-council in such schemes as they should approve.

The commons were now greatly alarmed. They tried every method to gain off the general from his new alliance. Some of them even promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise, to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election.

The restoration of the expelled members was easily effected; and their number was so much superior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this last party now

thought proper to withdraw in their turn. The restored members began with repealing all those orders by which they had been expelled. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; fixed a proper stipend for the support of the fleet and army; and, having passed these votes, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. Meanwhile, Monk new modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions, Lambert, who had been confined in the Tower, escaped from his prison, and began to raise forces; and, as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures. He dispatched against him Colonel Ingoldsbey, with his own regiment, before Lambert had time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry with four troops of horse: but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsbey; to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting strong marks of pusillanimity.

All this time Monk still persisted in his reserve; nor would he intrust his secret intentions with any person, except one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire. He was of a sedentary and studious disposition; and with him alone did the general deliberate on the great and dangerous enterprize of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; so that Monk, now finding he could depend on this minister's secrecy, opened to him his

whole

whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, refused to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From thence he retired to Holland, where he resolved to wait further advice.

The new parliament being assembled, Sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, a man known to be a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days make any mention of his name. At length Monk gave directions to Annesly, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the house of commons. This message was received with the utmost joy. Granville was called in, the letter read, and the king's proposals immediately accepted of. He offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions but what should be made by parliament. He promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by acts of parliament; to satisfy the army under General Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers when they should be enlisted in the king's army.

In consequence of this good agreement between king and parliament, Montague the English admiral waited on his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The Duke of York went immediately on-board, and took the command as lord high admiral. The king embarked, and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly

derly embraced. He entered London in 1660, on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day; and was attended by an innumerable multitude of people, who testified their joy by the loudest acclamations.

CHARLES II. was thirty years of age at the time of his restoration. Being naturally of an engaging countenance, and possessed of an open and affable disposition, he was the favourite of all ranks of his subjects. They had now felt the miseries of anarchy, and in proportion to these miseries was the satisfaction they felt on the accession of their young monarch. His first measures were calculated to give universal satisfaction. He seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in affection for their prince and country. He admitted into his council the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions. The presbyterians shared this honour equally with the royalists. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich, and General Monk duke of Albemarle. Morrice, the general's friend, was created secretary of state. But what gave the greatest contentment to the nation was the judicious choice which the king at first made of his principal ministers and favourites. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was prime minister and chancellor. The Marquis, created Duke, of Ormond, was steward of the household; the Earl of Southampton high-treasurer; Sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state. These men, united together in the strictest friendship, and combining in the same laudable inclinations, supported each others credit, and pursued the interests of the public.

The parliament, having been summoned without the king's consent, received at first only the title of a convention; and it was not till after an act passed for that purpose, that they were acknowledged by the name of parliament.

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J. Chapman sculp.
CHARLES the II.

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parliament. Both houses owned the guilt of the former rebellion, and gratefully received in their own name, and in that of all the subjects, his majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity. The king had before promised an indemnity to all criminals, but such as should be excepted by parliament: he now issued a proclamation, declaring, that such of the late king's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves; some were taken in their flight; others escaped beyond sea. The peers seemed inclined to great severity on this occasion; but were restrained by the king, who in the most earnest terms pressed the act of general indemnification.

After repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both houses, with the exception of those who had an immediate hand in the king's death. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, though dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment: their bodies (see p. 156) were dug from their graves; dragged to the place of execution; and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest who sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of eighty, were doomed to immediate destruction; and these were enthusiasts who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, shewed a fortitude that would have done honour to a better cause.

This was all the blood that was shed at the restoration. The rest of the king's judges were relieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. The army was disbanded, that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve their of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist; but

in the latter part of his life he shewed an inclination to the Catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his infancy and exile.

On the 13th of September this year died, the young Duke of Gloucester, a prince of great hopes. The king was never so deeply affected by any incident in his life. The Princess of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son, and obtained his consent to the marriage of the Princess Henrietta with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French king. The parliament having met on the sixth of November, and carried on business with the greatest unanimity and dispatch, were dissolved by the king on the 29th of December, 1660.

During the reign of Charles II. the spirit of the people seemed to take a turn quite opposite to that in the time of Charles I. The latter found his subjects animated with a ferocious though ignorant zeal for liberty. They knew not what it was to be free, and therefore imagined that liberty consisted in throwing off entirely the royal authority. They gained their point: the unhappy monarch was dethroned and murdered; but, instead of liberty, they found themselves involved in much worse tyranny than before. Being happily freed from this tyranny by the restoration, they ran into the contrary extreme; and, instead of an unbounded spirit of opposition, there was nothing now to be found but as unbounded a spirit of submission; and, through the slavish submissions and concessions of the people in this reign, Charles found means to render himself a last almost quite absolute, and to govern without requiring, or indeed without having any occasion for parliament.

A like revolution took place with regard to religious matters. During the former reigns a spirit of the most gloomy

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gloomy enthusiasm had overspread the whole island, and men imagined that the Deity was only to be pleased by their denying themselves every social pleasure, and refusing every thing that tended to make life agreeable. The extreme hypocrisy of Cromwell and his associates, and the absurd conduct of others, shewed that this was not religion; but, in avoiding this error, they ran into one equally dangerous; and every thing religious or serious was discountenanced. Nothing but riot and dissipation took place every where. The court set them the example; nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity were to be seen; the horrors of the late war became the subject of ridicule; the formality of the sectaries was displayed on the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. In short, the best mode of religion now was to have as little as possible; and to avoid not only the hypocrisy of the sectaries, but even the common duties of morality.

In the midst of this riot and dissipation, the old and faithful followers of the royal family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought both for the king and his father, and who had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion; while in the mean time their persecutors, who had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The wretched royalists petitioned and murmured in vain; the monarch fled from their expostulations to scenes of mirth and festivity; and the act of indemnity was generally said to have been an act of *forgiveness* to the king's enemies, and of *oblivion* to his friends.

In 1661, the Scots and English parliaments seemed to vie with each other in their prostrations to the king. In England, monarchy and episcopacy were raised to the greatest splendour. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king. He was empowered to appoint commissioners for re-

gulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity was passed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy resigned their cures at once. In Scotland the right of the king was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms to be hereditary, divine, and indefeasible. His power was extended to the lives and possessions of his subjects, and from his original grant was said to come all that they enjoyed. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with a degree of the utmost detestation.

Notwithstanding the liberal provision which the parliament had made for their king, still his prodigality rendered him indigent; and, instead of desiring an ascendancy over his parliament, he was content to be dependent on their bounty. His prodigality, his libertinism, and the familiarity with which he permitted himself to be treated by his subjects, soon began to alter their sentiments, from a veneration for royalty, to a contempt of his person and administration; and this was presently increased, by a shameful sacrifice of the interest of the nation, for his private advantage. In consideration of five millions of livres, (about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling,) he delivered up to Louis XIV. of France, the town and port of Dunkirk; and likewise the fort of Mardyke, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, &c. The excuse which Charles gave to his parliament for this conduct was, that, as it had been surrendered to Cromwell, an usurper, he had a right to dispose of it as he pleased. This destructive bargain was concluded at
London,

London, by the Count d'Estrades, on the side of France, and the Earl of Clarendon, chancellor, the Earl of Southampton, lord-treasurer, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich, who had received a commission from the king for that purpose. The latter of these noblemen at first proposed the absolute demolition of Dunkirk, and the filling up and destroying its harbour, in such a manner, as to render it for ever useless; but this was not insisted on in the farther prosecution of the business. No sooner had the French king taken possession of this important place, than he employed thirty thousand men to work upon the fortifications, on the side towards the land, as well as to the sea: he likewise formed, between the town and citadel, a large basin, capable of receiving thirty ships of war; so that, says Voltaire, this place became a terror to the English, almost as soon as they had sold it. From this time, (August 17th, 1662,) Charles found himself perpetually opposed, and his parliament granted supplies much more reluctantly than before.

A few months before, the continual exigencies of the king had forced him to conclude a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal for the sake of her portion, which was five hundred thousand pounds in money, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The Chancellor Clarendon, the Dukes of Ormond and Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; but all their objections could not prevail, and therefore Clarendon set himself to promote it as far as lay in his power.

A fleet was sent, under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, to bring over the queen, and to take possession of Tangiers. Besides these avowed purposes, for which this armament was sent but, it was farther designed to chastise the Algerine corsairs, for their infraction of the treaty entered into with Blake. For this purpose, the earl appeared with his fleet before

Algiers, the 29th of July, 1661, and sent an officer to the dey with a letter from the king, accompanied with one from himself. These remonstrances, and this armament, made no impression on that state. It seemed even to set the English admiral, and his force, at defiance, by putting the port and castles in the best state of defence. Sandwich hereupon attempted to set fire to the ships in the harbour; but the wind being unfavourable to the attempt, after furious cannonading on both sides, without any essential hurt being done to either, the English admiral thought fit to desist; and, leaving Sir John Lawson to cruise, with a strong squadron, off the harbour, to protect the English trade, and harass the enemy, he sailed, with the rest of his fleet for Lisbon. The vigilance of Lawson on this station annoyed the Algerines more than the attack upon their port; for so many of their ships were taken, that they were at last compelled to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, and to give up all right of searching its ships; but this treaty, like the former one, was not long observed.

The king's marriage had laid no sort of restraint on his indiscriminate amours; his queen, though a virtuous princess, could never gain the affection of her husband; he had been captivated by her portion, and, having secured that, was quite indifferent to the woman. At this time his favourite mistress was Mrs. Palmer, whom he afterwards created Duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, and revengeful. She entertained a strong dislike to Clarendon, who was a man too tenacious of the dignity of his own character to pay his court to this haughty concubine. Out of revenge for such neglect of the minister, she exerted all her influence with the king to undermine this his trusty servant; and in the attempt she was so successful as to lay the foundation of his disgrace.

Still,

Still, however, the king's necessities were greater than his supplies. In 1663, an extraordinary supply was demanded: the king sent for the commons, on the 12th of June, to Whitehall. He complained of their inattention; and, by acquainting them of a conspiracy to seize the castle of Dublin, he hoped to furnish a reason for demanding a present supply. Four subsidies were immediately granted, and the clergy in convocation followed the example of the commons. On this occasion the Earl of Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor Clarendon in the house of peers; but, as he did not support his charge, the affair was dropped for the present.

In the month of April 1664, the house of commons, having taken into consideration the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs, indignities, and affronts, offered by the Dutch in the East and West Indies, as well as on the coast of Africa, to the subjects of England, had, in a great measure, obstructed the trade of the nation. They thereupon farther voted, that his majesty should be entreated to procure reparation for those wrongs, and take measures for preventing such injuries for the future; for which purpose the two houses would assist him to their utmost, against all opposers. This was a prelude to a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined, as he sought an opportunity of spending upon his pleasures a part of those sums which should be granted him by parliament for the support of a fleet and army. The charges alleged against the Dutch were extremely frivolous; they were accused of having taken English ships in the East Indies; but they pleaded that those ships had been employed in carrying on a clandestine trade, and the states had actually deposited a sum of money, exceeding the value of them, until the English court of admiralty could determine the merits of the cause: so that it is plain, that the war did not owe its origin to such causes.

There

There were yet other considerations besides the poverty of the crown, which concurred in producing this rupture with Holland: Charles delighted in ship-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy that should give law to all the maritime states in Europe; the Duke of York ardently wished for an opportunity to display his courage and skill in his department of lord high-admiral against the Dutch, whom he hated; not only for the republican principles which they entertained, but as being a principal support to the Protestant religion: the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as their most dangerous rivals in commerce; and the Royal African company, at the head of which was the Duke of York, had been thwarted by these Hollanders, in their designs of fixing settlements to promote and serve their trade on the coast of Guinea.

Hostilities broke out between these two rival powers in Africa and America, without any formal declaration of war on either side. Sir Robert Holmes was sent out with a fleet to the coast of Africa, where he dispossessed the Dutch of several forts near Cape Verd; but all these possessions De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, the year after, re-took. The English admiral erected a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it James-fort; and this is still possessed by the English.

These actions served to exasperate the two states, and to precipitate a war, which, accordingly, was declared by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1664-5. Great preparations were made for war; the city of London lent the king one hundred thousand pounds, and, when he represented that sum as inadequate to the purposes it was meant to serve, they readily advanced a like sum. A great fleet was fitted out under the command of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Sandwich, which sailing over to the coasts of Holland, struck an universal terror into the Dutch; notwithstanding, they

also

also had assembled a capital fleet under their Admiral Opdam, but they dared not put to sea with it, and face the English. While their harbours were thus blocked up, a great part of their fleet from Bourdeaux, in its way home, fell into the hands of the English, who, in a few weeks, took above one hundred and thirty of their merchant ships. About this time a Dutch fleet, richly laden, from Smyrna, was attacked near Cadiz, by Vice-admiral Allen, with nine men of war, and frigates. The Dutch force consisted in forty merchant ships, large, and well provided with ordnance, and four third-rate men of war. In the engagement the Dutch commodore, Brackel, was killed, and four of the richest ships taken; one of which afterwards foundered at sea. The rest were forced into the bay of Cadiz, where they were, for some time, blocked up.

After the grand fleet of England had lain on the coasts of Holland for a month, a violent storm so shattered it, as to force it into port to refit. The Dutch availed themselves of this opportunity to proceed to sea in seven squadrons; Opdam baron de Wassenaer commanded the first, which was composed of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; John Everts commanded the second, which was equal in force; the third was led by Admiral Cortenaer, and consisted of fourteen men of war, and one fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillinguert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, son of the brave and memorable admiral of that name, with sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the sixth, under Cornelius Everts, consisted of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ship; the last, commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships; in all, one hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, together with seven yachts. The English fleet consisted of one hundred and fourteen

teen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on-board. The whole was commanded by the Duke of York, as lord high-admiral; Prince Rupert was vice-admiral of the white, and the Earl of Sandwich of the blue.

Soon after the Dutch fleet had put to sea, they fell in with the English *Hamburgh* fleet, which, supposing the Duke of York, with his fleet, to be still on their station, fell into the hands of the Dutch, together with their convoy; the value of the whole was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds.

The duke, highly incensed at this loss, resolved to revenge it on the enemy; and, with a view to bring them to an engagement, weighed anchor from *Solebay* the first of June. The English fleet was divided into three squadrons; the first, under the red flag, was commanded by the duke himself, assisted by the Admirals Penn and Lawson; the second, being the white squadron, was under the conduct of Prince Rupert, assisted by Minnis and Sampson; and the third, which was the blue squadron, was under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, who had with him Cuttins, and Sir George Ayscue. They got sight of the Dutch fleet the same day, not far from *Harwich*; but the wind being southerly, and the next morning south-west, they retired before our fleet to the mouth of the *Maese*: from thence *Opdam* sent an express to the states, giving them his reason for his retreat, and, informing them, that he did not judge it proper to fall upon the English while they had the advantage of the wind. In answer to which the states sent him positive orders, to engage at all events.

Opdam resolved to obey the orders of his masters, though contrary to the opinion and advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion: "I am, said he, (on hearing the judgment of a council of war,) entirely in your sentiment, but here are my orders. To-

morrow my head shall be bound with laurel, or with cypress." And in this disposition he advanced towards the English fleet.

This memorable battle began on the third of June, at three in the morning, and was furiously supported on both sides till noon, without any material advantage gained by either. The Earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, first gave a turn to the fortune of the day, by falling into the centre of the Dutch fleet, and separating it into two parts. This threw the enemy into such confusion, as brought on a general flight. Meanwhile the Duke of York, in the Royal Charles, a ship of eighty guns, and Admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, of eighty-four guns, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, during which the duke was exposed to great danger. The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle second son to the Earl of Burlington, were all killed by his side, by the same chain-shot, and were so near the duke at the time, that he was covered with their blood and brains; and the Dutch writers say, that a splinter of Mr. Boyle's skull wounded him in the hand. In the heat of this desperate action the Dutch admiral blew up; and of five hundred men, among whom were a great number of volunteers, of the best families in Holland, only five were saved. Soon after this fatal stroke to the Dutch, four of their choicest ships, from sixty to forty guns, ran foul of each other, and were set on fire, and consumed, by one fire-ship; three larger men of war soon after shared the same fate, by the same means. The Orange, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt, with four hundred men on-board, by Captain Smith, of the Mary. By this time the whole Dutch fleet seemed to be but one blaze, and the cries of so many miserable wretches, who were perishing either by fire or water, forced the most inflexible to pity. The English rendered all the assistance in their power to their

vanquished enemy, while, with redoubled fury, they assailed the rest. Two of the Dutch vice-admirals, Stellingaert and Cortenaer, were killed. Their ships bearing out of the line without striking their flags, on the death of their commanders, drew many after them; so that by eight at night, Tromp, who still bravely maintained the fight, and that even whilst retreating, had not above thirty ships to support him. This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt, at sea. The Dutch are reckoned to have had eighteen ships taken, and fourteen sunk in the action, besides such as were sunk and blown up: they lost six thousand men, upwards of two thousand of whom were made prisoners, sixteen of whom were captains. On the side of the English only one ship was lost; the Charity, of forty-six guns: no more than two hundred and fifty men were killed, and about three hundred and forty wounded; but many of high rank fell in this action, besides those already named; such as the Earls of Portland and Marlborough, Rear-admiral Sampson, and Vice-admiral Lawson; the latter of whom died of a wound he received in his knee, altho' he survived the battle.

It is affirmed, and with some appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, an attendant upon the duke, whilst his highness slept, and who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders, but Brounker was never sufficiently punished for his presumption. Dutch writers express their astonishment, that the English did not push on their good fortune; and seem to acknowledge, that, had they done so, the whole Dutch fleet must have become their prey. The Duke of York, sailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thanksgiving to be observed all over England

for this victory; and medals were struck in honour of the Duke of York, who thereupon became the idol of the nation, and began to be respected as the presumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was supposed barren, and almost totally neglected by her husband. The king and council would not suffer the duke to expose his person to the danger of a second engagement; whereupon the command of the fleet devolved upon the Earl of Sandwich.

The Dutch Turkey and India fleets had chosen the northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English fleet under the Earl of Sandwich; which fleet, July the fifth, steered from Southwold Bay (into which they put after the engagement) for the coast of Holland, with a design to intercept these merchant-ships when entering their ports. But they having intelligence at sea, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the English navy, took shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway. The port was not difficult of access, being only covered by an old castle; the Danish governor assured the Dutch of all the protection in his power to give, and they were willing to contribute their strength in aid of it. In order to this they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line across the bay, consisting of their largest ships; in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the Earl of Sandwich, having advice of their being put into Bergen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman, his rear-admiral, with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was obliged to bear out of the bay; and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated.

The Dutch were thrown into the utmost consternation by the defeat of their grand fleet, and demanded of De Witt, who was the soul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He therefore went on-board the fleet, which he took under his command, and soon recovered his country from the disorder into which they had been thrown. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs as if he had been educated in them from his infancy; and he even made improvements in some parts of pilotage and sailing beyond what men, expert in those arts, had ever been able to attain. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of this fleet; though De Witt was the main spring that gave motion to the whole.

No sooner was the Dutch fleet again ready for sea, than it proceeded to succour their East-India fleet, then lying at Bergen, and to bring it home in safety. The King of Denmark had acted a very extraordinary part in the quarrel between England and Holland. He made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he had perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; but we have seen the repulse which the English received when they made their attack upon the Hollanders; after which the Danish governor demanded of the Dutch one hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in that affair; and threatened to sink them, if they attempted to sail without first paying this debt. The arrival of De Ruyter's fleet before Bergen lowered the tone of the governor, and the Dutch merchantmen were permitted to sail without paying the sum which had been before exacted. On their return to Holland the fleet was scattered by a storm, which sunk two fire-ships, and some of the merchant-

merchantmen. The vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the East-India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from the fleet to which they belonged; and soon after four Dutch men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchantmen, joined the English fleet instead of their own, and were captured; which ended the operations of the year 1665.

Louis XIV. beheld, with pleasure, the two maritime powers mutually destroying each other, by the most obstinate combats that were ever fought; the only consequences from which were, the weakening of both parties. By the signal successes which had attended the English arms on the ocean this year, France began to apprehend either the total ruin of Holland, or that the states would be obliged to accede to any peace which their conquerors might think fit to dictate. To prevent either of these consequences, the French court openly declared in favour of Holland. No sooner was this step taken, than every artifice was employed to rekindle the rage of party in England. Those of republican principles were secretly tampered with; and General Ludlow, who had fled his country to escape the fate of the regicides, was solicited to head an army designed to dethrone the king; Denmark was also brought to declare in favour of the Dutch.

Charles endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He sent an extraordinary envoy into Spain, who met with a very cold reception at that court. Notwithstanding that kingdom was sunk into a state of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France, yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a friendly alliance with England. The marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Portugal; the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers; the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these circumstances sunk so deep in the mind of the Spanish monarch, that no motive of interest

rest was sufficient to outweigh them. Bernard Van Galen bishop of Munster, was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, who was a man of restless enterprise and ambition, had entertained a violent animosity against the states; and he was easily engaged, by a promise of subsidies from England, to make an incursion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near twenty thousand men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. The land forces of the states were as feeble and ill-governed as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But, after his committing great ravages in several of the provinces, a stop was put to the progress of this warlike prelate. He wanted military skill to enable him to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands. The French king had sent a body of six thousand men to oppose him; subsidies were not regularly remitted him from England, and many of his troops deserted for want of pay. The Elector of Brandenburg threatened him with an invasion in his own bishopric; and, thus circumstanced, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first surmise of his intention, Sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance, but found that he arrived too late.

This aspect of affairs filled the Dutch with hopes of retrieving their miscarriages, and caused an unanimity in their councils, which greatly assisted the operations of the war. They considered the English as the aggressors in this quarrel, and were thereby stimulated to revenge. The spirit of the English, on the other hand, was no ways sunk at the prospect of their accumulated enemies, and even though both natural and accidental calamities, at the same time, visited them internally; a plague ravaged London, which swept off near one hundred thousand of its inhabitants; and, soon after, the city was almost entirely destroyed by a conflagration, which raged for three days without intermission.

termiffion. One advantage England poffeffed in carrying on the war againft her confederated enemies from her fituation, which enabled her to prevent the junction of their fleets; but no benefit was derived, in the iffue, from this local fuperiority.

In the beginning of February Charles returned to London, from whence he had haftily departed on the appearance of the plague. The command of the naval armaments was now given to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle; the former, with a fleet of forty fhips, failed in queft of the Duke of Beaufort, the French Admiral, who was faid to be at Belleifle, with thirty-fix fhips, and about to enter the Channel, and form a junction with the Dutch. Soon after the prince had carried off fo confiderable a part of the grand fleet of England, De Ruyter appeared between Nieuport and Dunkirk, at the head of feventy-one fail of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-fhips, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. Albemarle, though greatly inferior in force, did not hesitate what to do, but bore down upon them with great gallantry. The Dutch captains were not at all backward to come into action, for many cut their cables in order to engage.

On the first day of June, 1666, the battle began with incredible fury. Tromp, and after him De Ruyter, were obliged to fhift their flags, becaufe their fhips had fuffained fuch damage they were in danger of finking: one of their fleet was blown up, and Admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. To counterbalance this, Sir William Berkley, who led the Englifh van, was driven into the midft of the enemy, where his fhip, being affailed on all fides, was taken, after a gallant refiftance, in which he was flain. One or two Englifh fhips were funk, notwithstanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and activity of a youthful warrior. Night parted the combatants; but
next

next day, the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with increased fury. Van Tromp, having engaged himself too far within the English line, had well nigh been taken, but for the effectual support which De Ruyter afforded him. These two admirals were of opposite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inspired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and resolution; neither desirous of building his own fame on the ruin of his rival. Whilst the fate of the two fleets was thus suspended, the Dutch received a reinforcement of sixteen ships; at the same time that the English fleet was so shattered, as that no more than twenty-eight sail remained fit for service. Albemarle was hereupon obliged to retreat towards his own coasts, whither the Dutch followed him, and, towards night, came up with him; but a sudden calm forced the irritated combatants to a suspension of arms. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous disposition, sent the disabled ships a-head, while he himself remained in the rear with those that were still capable of service, so as to form a line astern occasionally, for the reception of the pursuers. About two, when the Dutch were almost within gunshot, the duke descried Prince Rupert and his squadron to the southward, (who had been deluded by a false report of the appearance of the French fleet, designedly thrown out,) crowding all their sails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galloper Sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The two English fleets, having joined, prepared for another engagement, and the next morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them with a determined firmness. A fourth battle ensued, which was maintained with equal rage and desperation on both sides, and was continued until a thick fog intervened, which prevented the farther continuance of the conflict. The English, having

having suffered greatly, seized this opportunity to retire, with considerable loss.

Both sides claimed the victory; but the Dutch must be allowed to have borne away the wreath, although no glory was lost by the party which was worsted. The pensioner De Witt acknowledged, upon this occasion, "that, if the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; the Dutch fleet could never have been brought to engage after such a fight as was on the first day; and he believed none but the English could; and all that the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt, but that English courage was invincible."

The loss sustained by the English in these successive battles, which were the most terrible that had been fought this war, or perhaps in any other, is computed at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. In the last day's engagement fell the brave Admiral Minnas, who, though he had received a shot in the neck, still kept upon deck, and issued out his orders for upwards of an hour, stopping the flow of blood with his fingers; till another shot pierced his throat, and deprived him of life. The English writers say, that the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand men; themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a prodigious slaughter of their seamen. The loss of men, which the English sustained, was very considerable, though not equal to that of their enemy. The Dutch however compute it at between five and six thousand. The Duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his temerity, and for the contempt in which he held the Dutch. He seems to have entertained the same sentiments with Blake, who considered fighting as always to be preferred to running away, in a nation that claimed the dominion of the sea; and, if one or two instances bear hard upon this doctrine, yet it is surely right in the

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general, and has been productive of the most happy consequences. "It is enough," says Dr. Campbell, "that we live in cooler times, when men may be heroes upon more moderate terms."

The Dutch were first at sea after this action, and De Ruyter posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white Squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and, during the heat of the action, he was separated from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter with conduct and valour maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and, though overpowered by numbers, kept his station till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however, at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One De Witt, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and to render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But De Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night, and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts



Engagement between the English and Dutch Fleets at the Mouth of the Thames. 1666.

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efforts of De Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

The English now rode incontestible masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch on their coasts. The two great admirals of the states, De Ruyter and Van Tromp, mutually accused each other of being the cause of the defeat. The Dutch are said to have lost twenty ships in this action; four of their admirals were killed, several captains, and near four thousand private men. The English are said to have lost only one ship, the *Resolution*, which was burnt; three captains were killed, and only about three hundred private men. The populace in Holland had been made to believe, that the naval strength of England had been effectually broken by the actions in June, and that the Dutch fleet would bear down all before it; their consternation therefore at this fatal reverse was increased in proportion to the degree that their hopes had been raised. Their rage received a yet farther increase by a new misfortune.

On the 29th of July, the English fleet steered its course for Ulie; but, the wind being contrary, it did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to an anchor, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich store-houses on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; hereupon it was resolved to attack them forthwith. [Ulie is an island from whence the Dutch fleets usually sail to the Baltic; it has the Texel and Schelling on the north.]

A council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was determined that three hundred men should be drawn out of each squadron, two-thirds landmen and one-third seamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the command of Sir Ro-

bert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red; with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at once, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprise were five fourth and three fifth rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches. On the eighth of August, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to an anchor about a league from the buoys, where they met the prince's pleasure boat, called the Fanfan, who had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near Ulie, which proved to be one hundred and seventy merchant-ships, the least of which was not less than two hundred tons burthen, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed near an hundred of the said ships. The whole were richly laden. Sir Robert Holmes considering, that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render their success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampshire to lie without the buoys, he weighed with the rest of the fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he returned, with great difficulty, into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor; and immediately Sir Robert went on-board the Fanfan, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on-board him; and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke, which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should immediately fall in amongst the enemy's fleet. Captain Brown, with his fire-ship, chose, very bravely, to lay the biggest man of war on-board, and burnt it downright. Another fire-ship running up, at the same time, to the other man of war, they, backing their sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship; but so as to run themselves on ground, where the ship was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped

clapped the three great merchantmen on-board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion; which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on-board again; and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy, all they could; but with a strict command not to plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share; some twelve, some fifteen, merchantmen; that of the whole fleet there escaped not above eight or nine ships; one of which was a Guinea-man of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, protected four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where our boats could not possibly come at them; though even these few were much damaged. The next day, which was the tenth of August, it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon Ulie; which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats, which he landed with little or no opposition. When he came on-shore he left one company to secure his boats, and with the other ten marched three miles up into the country, to the capital town, called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of one thousand fine houses; where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to that place; but, finding them a little slow to execute that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in the pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten the men away. The fire burnt with such violence, that in half an hour most part of the town was in a blaze. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich; and the booty which some of the soldiers made

made there confirms such account. This blow greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered the loss of near six millions of guilders; and, were we to take the ships into this computation, they confess, that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or one million one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The English however were still more visited with calamities than the states of Holland; at one time they groaned under three as great evils as can befall mankind; war, pestilence, and famine. On the third of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's house, near London-bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it had laid in ashes the greatest part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be melancholy spectators of their own ruin, and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprising violence, and destroyed eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. Yet the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London soon rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of prerogative, regulated the distribution of the buildings, and forbade the use of lath and timber, of which the houses were before composed; and many of the streets being built wider, admitted a greater circulation of air; by which means London became more healthy. Hence the plague, which used to break out with great fury once or twice every century, has never since appeared in the city.

A war carried on with such vigour as that between England and Holland, was likely to be soon brought

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to some issue; accordingly, by the end of this year, all parties began heartily to wish for peace. The Dutch, notwithstanding their defeats, improved every day in military skill. Though their trade had suffered extremely, yet their extensive credit enabled them to procure large sums; and, while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money, and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English; and Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war which had proved both fruitless and destructive. A treaty was therefore set on foot at Breda. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of a peace seemed the certain consequence of a negotiation; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors there to discuss. In this situation Charles, willing to retrench the expences of the state, in order to enrich his private coffers, laid up a considerable part of his navy; by which shameful breach of duty to his people, he exposed England to one of the greatest affronts which she had ever received.

The pensionary De Witt, partly by himself in person, and farther by agents employed for that purpose, had founded the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it would be practicable to make an attempt there with large ships; and, having gained information favourable to his designs, he resolved to execute them, notwithstanding the negotiations for a peace were in so good a train. The French secretly countenanced the undertaking. In the spring of the year 1667, De Witt caused a large fleet to be got ready, under a pretence of attacking some Scottish privateers that had greatly annoyed the vessels of Holland. Accordingly,

cordingly, Admiral Van Ghent was sent into the Frith of Forth; whilst another fleet was manned with great secrecy and dispatch, the command of which was given to De Ruyter, on-board of which were put pilots who were well acquainted with the navigation of the river Thames. Meanwhile the supine ministry of Charles were never once awakened into suspicion. The Dutch fleet, as soon as ready, sailed for the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghent's squadron; the whole consisting of seventy men of war, besides fire-ships. A detachment from this fleet was then sent up the river Thames, which, on the tenth of June, attacked Sheerness, which was, at that time, unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. No sooner was the alarm given, than the Duke of Albemarle hastened, with the commanding officers, to the defence of the river Medway; to secure which, they sunk ships at the entrance, threw a chain across, and placed three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch, behind the chain. A strong easterly wind favoured this attempt of De Ruyter, and determined him to try to burn the ships which lay at Chatham, in spite of the precautions taken to preserve them. To effect this, the chain which guarded the entrance of the harbour was first to be broken; and this was performed with great gallantry by one of his officers. An impetuous attack was then made upon the ships which defended the entrance of the harbour, and, at length, they were set on fire; and with this exploit they closed the first day's attack. The next morning, the wind still blowing full into the harbour, the Dutch advanced as high as Upnor-castle, with six men of war and two fire-ships. But here they met with so warm a reception that they were obliged to retreat. In their way back they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ship, and in her Captain Douglas, who was appointed to defend it. This brave man, receiving no orders to retire

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when the ship was in flames, said, "It shall never be said that a Douglas quitted his post without orders;" and resolutely continued on-board, and was burnt with the ship. It is pity that so brave a man should sacrifice his life to a punctilio, an adherence to which could not possibly render his country any service. The Dutch carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English fought manfully to preserve. In this retreat two Dutch men of war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt; which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss which their writers acknowledge, though they might probably suffer much more.

The city of London was filled with terror at this daring enterprize; it was apprehended that, when the Dutch fleet was returned from the Medway, it would, with the next tide, sail up the Thames, quite to that capital. Nine ships were thereupon sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; platforms, provided with artillery, were raised in many places, and the trained bands drawn out. But De Ruyter did not realize these apprehensions, but sailed back to the mouth of the Thames, where he left Admiral Van Nes with a part of his fleet, while he himself proceeded with the rest to Portsmouth, with a view to commit the like depredations there; but he was repulsed: he then directed his course to Torbay, where he took some English vessels; but was again repulsed when he attempted to land. He made as unsuccessful an attempt upon Plymouth; then, sailing back through the Channel, appeared off Harwich, and fired some shot at Languard fort; but was beaten off with considerable loss. Many sharp actions happened between the Dutch fleet, and the English commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, in which, upon the whole, the former sustained the most damage and loss, but not sufficient to cause them to quit the coasts, where they continued till the peace was signed at Breda.---No king that merited the crown he

wore, would have concluded a peace whilst this insolent attack remained unrevenge'd; but Charles was as indifferent about the honour of the nation as he was of his own reputation.

The nation was highly incens'd, to see an enemy whom they considered as beaten, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now, all at once, ride undisputed masters of the ocean; burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But though the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence, of government, yet no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who, upon that supposition, had been treated with great severity.

Three distinct treaties of peace were signed at Breda, the 10th of July, 1667, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English minister. Hereby the island of Poleroon, in the East-Indies, was ceded to the Dutch; an indemnification for the ships *Bonaventure* and *Good-Hope*, the pretended grounds of the war, was no longer insisted on; *Acadie*, or *Acadia*, which the English call *Nova-Scotia*, was most impolitically yielded to France. The acquisition of *New-York* was the chief advantage the English derived from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had sold all the merchant-ships taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and had embezzled the chief part of the last supply which had been granted him

him for carrying on the war; while his brother, grown sick of fighting, from the desperate action in which he had been plunged at the outset of the war, remained safe at home, and, by virtue of his post of lord high-admiral, took to himself a large share of the prizes which were made; besides which the parliament voted him a handsome present.

The king now thought it necessary to make some sacrifice to the discontents of his subjects, and Clarendon was singled out as the scape-goat to expiate his master's crime. Charles considered that nobleman as a troublesome censor, who disapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleasures. He was indeed extremely unpopular, and justly considered as an enemy to all the dissenters. Besides this, he was charged with the sale of Dunkirk; the bad payment of the seamen; the disgrace by the Dutch fleet; and his own ambition. His daughter, while yet in Paris, had commenced an amour with the Duke of York; and under a solemn promise of marriage had admitted him to her bed. Her lover, however, either of his own accord, or through the persuasions of his brother Charles, afterwards married her; and this too was imputed as a crime to Clarendon. On these accusations, the king, who on account of his rigid virtue had never much loved this nobleman, ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgemen. Clarendon was soon after impeached by the commons; and, thinking proper to withdraw, a bill of banishment and incapacity was passed against him; upon which he retired into France, where he lived in a private manner, employing his leisure chiefly in reducing into order his History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. He survived his banishment six years. Though he had attended the king during his exile, Charles appeared never to have mitigated his resentment against him; that prince was as incapable of friendship as he was of gratitude;

his attachments were all selfish and sensual. National prejudices pursued this statesman to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremity, had not their officers, hearing of this violence, happily interposed. He lived some time after this, till, being suddenly seized with an apoplexy, he died in the presence of his son.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic broils, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued; the popular pretensions of the parliament were restrained; the hugonot party controuled; the extensive and fertile kingdom of France, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants; and, while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission to the will of the reigning prince. The sovereign, who then filled the throne, was well-adapted, by his personal character, both to encrease, and avail himself of, these advantages. Louis XIV. endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, possessing many which merited the approbation of the wise: the masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air: the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness: elegant without effeminacy; addicted to pleasure without neglecting business; decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power: he surpassed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory. His ambition, regulated by prudence, though not by justice, had carefully provided every

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every means of conquest; and, before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured success. His finances were brought into order; a naval power was created; his armies were augmented and disciplined; magazines and military stores were provided; and, though the magnificence of his court was supported beyond all former example, so regular was the economy observed, and so willingly did the people, now beginning to be enriched by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes, that his military force was greater than any prince in Europe had ever been master of.

The sudden decline, and almost total fall, of the Spanish monarchy, opened an inviting field to so enterprizing a prince, and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were astonished at the rising greatness of France; and all of them cast their eyes upon England, as the only power that could save them from the overwhelming greatness of France.

The animosity which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the jealousy of Spanish greatness, began now again to break out. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had been greatly conducive to reconcile them to the inadequate peace which had been entered into.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain, who was father-in-law to Louis XIV. gave the latter a pretext to claim the duchy of Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands, then subject to Spain, together with Franche-Compté. The reasons on which he grounded his pretensions were very frivolous, but they were supported

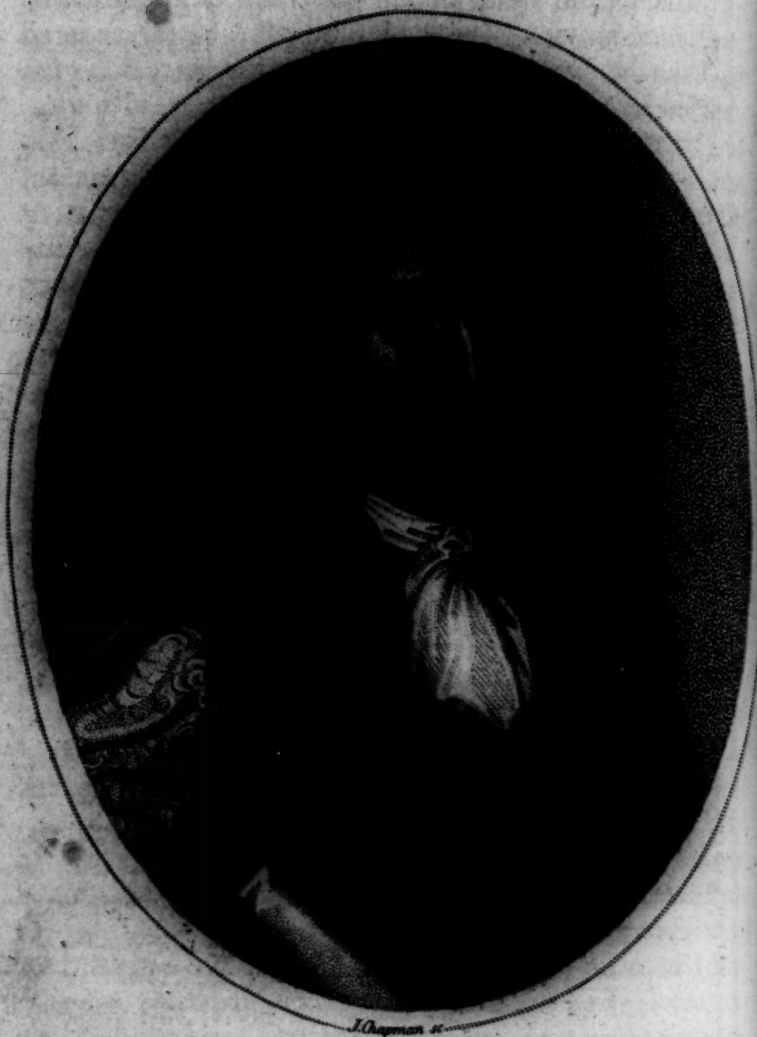
by the greatest military force in Europe; a mode of reasoning which the French monarch thought irresistible. He appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands, with an army of more than forty thousand men, led on by the most eminent generals of the age, and well furnished with every requisite. Such ambition, joined to such power, threatened nothing short of the subversion of the general liberties of Europe; and the United Provinces, as they lay nearest, were very justly first alarmed at the impending danger. Louis, apprehensive that all Europe would combine against him, proposed terms to the Dutch, who were most likely to bring about such a confederacy.

The fickle and unsteady temper of Charles was obliged to become determined by the exigencies of the times. He therefore dispatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambassador extraordinary, with full powers to conclude a triple alliance between England, the States-general, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from finishing the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. Temple, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians; meeting in De Witt a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was, from the first, negotiated between these two statesmen with the same cordiality as if it were a private transaction between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character, which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements. And though jealousy against the house of Orange might inspire De Witt with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service. This triple league was concluded in five days, and produced
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ADMIRAL S^r. EDW^d. SPRAGGE.

Published as the Act directs July 1st 1700

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a general treaty of pacification, which was entered into at Aix-la-Chapelle in the month of May following; by which Louis remained in possession of all the towns in Flanders, which he had subdued; he surrendered up Franche-Compté to Spain; and this peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance.

Peace being restored, Charles sent Sir Thomas Allen, with a squadron of ships, into the Mediterranean, to chastise the Algerines, who had taken advantage of the situation of England and Holland during the late war, and had seized, indiscriminately, the ships of each state. At the same time Van Ghent was sent by the states for the like purpose. These two fleets greatly assisted each other in their operations. Many ships belonging to these pirates were sunk, or otherwise destroyed, and a considerable number of Christian slaves set at liberty. At the close of the year 1669, Captain Kempthorne, in the *Mary-Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off. The force under Allen however was found ineffectual for the purpose on which it was sent; so that, in the year 1670, Sir Edward Spragge was sent out with a stronger squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruised for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this he sailed from thence, with six frigates, and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs, which lay in the haven of Bugia, a strong town to the eastward of Algiers. In his passage, two of his fire-ships were separated from the squadron; but this reduction of his strength did not prevent him from prosecuting his purpose. Being come before the place, he broke the bomb at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and, notwithstanding the fire of the castle, burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes:
after

after performing this important service, he destroyed another of their ships of war at Tedelez. These misfortunes caused such discontents among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and elected another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the 9th of December 1671; and, as they were now effectually humbled, they took care to observe this peace better than the former ones which they had entered into.

The king now began to act in a very arbitrary manner. He had long wished to extend his prerogative, and to be able to furnish himself with whatever sums he might want for his pleasures, and therefore was most likely to be pleased with those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. These he found in Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the name of the CABAL; a word formed by the initials of their names. The first effects of their advice was a secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland. Soon after this, the Duke of York declared himself a papist; and liberty of conscience was proclaimed to all sectaries, whether dissenters or papists. These things gave very great and just offence to the people; but, they were more especially alarmed at the alliance with France, and justly afraid of the treachery of that nation.

Clarendon had, in an evil hour, taught Charles, in the first years of his reign, to receive money from France, unknown to his people; and the duke, with his three associates, presuming upon the same aid, formed the project of a treaty between the Kings of France and England, the ends of which were, that Louis XIV. should give Charles two hundred thousand pounds a year, to enable him to re-establish the popish religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; that he should also assist him with forces, in case insurrections should arise in his kingdom; and that, after the interests of religion were secured,

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secured, the two monarchs should join their forces, by sea and land, for the destruction of the Dutch commonwealth, and divide its dominions between them and Charles's nephew the young Prince of Orange. This scheme being laid before Charles, he adopted it, and dispatched Lord Arundel to Paris with the proposal. Louis agreed to the terms, with an intention to persuade Charles afterwards to reverse the order of the project, and begin with the conquest of Holland. But so dangerous a secret was kept concealed both in France and England.

In the mean time Buckingham, who was a favourite of the king's sister the Duchess of Orleans, had entered with her into a project, to bring about an alliance for a new war against Holland. Her intentions in this were, that the adjusting the terms of the treaty should be committed to themselves by their respective sovereigns. Louis caught eagerly at an intrigue which he foresaw might facilitate the views he had entertained when he entered into the secret treaty; and, as he knew the influence of the duchess with her brother, he sent her to Dover, under the pretence of a visit to Charles; but, in reality, to persuade him to undertake immediately the destruction of Holland, and he himself lingered on the opposite coast of France, while the interview lasted. It was intended, that Charles and the duke should have gone to Dover together; but Charles, by an accident, went alone; and the duchess, who was ignorant of the former secret treaty, proposed to her brother a treaty with France, for a war of the two kingdoms against Holland, and his receiving a subsidy from France while it continued. To this proposal Charles instantly agreed. When the duke arrived, he in vain pressed him to adhere to the terms of the former treaty, and to settle the interest of religion, and the establishment of his own power at home, before he involved himself in the difficulties of a war, which would make him dependent upon parliament. Louis, who

who was well acquainted with Charles's character, had fixed him in his interests by the ties of pleasure, and had made him a present of a French mistress, by whose means he hoped to govern him for the future. The Duchess of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the king took with him to London, and soon after created Duchess of Portsmouth. He was ever after extremely attached to her; and she proved a great means of supporting his connections with France.

Previous to the rupture with Holland, a treaty of peace was signed between England and Spain, which is commonly called the American Treaty. Spain had ever carefully avoided the mention of America in all treaties entered into with England, being desirous of keeping up her ancient claims to that country; whilst England, on the other hand, was desirous of maintaining and improving the footing she had gained on the northern coast. The great feebleness of the Spanish monarchy, at length, compelled them to recede from this rapacious haughtiness; and overtures were made by the Spanish minister to the court of Great Britain, for a clear and explicit adjustment of the rights of the two kingdoms in America. This brought on a conference, the result whereof was, that Spain agreed to recognize the right of England to all American dominions, of which she was possessed in 1670. By this treaty, the pirates, or bucanneers, who for several years had greatly annoyed Spanish America, were cut off from any future protection from England. Neither this treaty however, nor any subsequent one, has determined the right by which the ships of Spain, called *guarda de costas*, intercept and annoy such English ships as sail near, though without landing on, the Spanish coast in the gulph of Mexico, which we shall hereafter see became the foundation of a war between the two kingdoms.

In

In January 1671-2, the king, by the advice of his cabal ministry, shut up the exchequer, by which step all the money which the London goldsmiths and bankers had deposited, at eight per cent. interest, was made use of by the king for his intended war with Holland. The sum thus seized amounted to one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-six pounds; the injury which the nation sustained by this arbitrary and unjust detention of their property was very great, and many families were thereby reduced from opulence to beggary. The discontent of the people ran high on this, and it was publicly said, that a step of this kind indicated that the crown, for the future, resolved to *borrow* no more, but to *take*. The king's ministers paid no regard to the remonstrances of those people who were ruined, and the exchequer long remained shut; and, though six per cent. was paid on all monies so seized, yet the principal was never paid. The parliament of the twelfth year of King William, although this was not a parliamentary debt, yet provided for a large arrear of interest on it, settled an interest of three per cent. on the principal, and made the debt redeemable on paying one moiety of it, or six hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds, which moiety thereupon became the proper debt of the public, and was finally subscribed into the South-sea capital stock, in the year 1720. At the same time that the exchequer was shut up, the act of navigation was suspended, by authority of the crown alone. This step was taken in order to man the royal navy, by compelling the seamen on-board of merchantmen to enter on-board men of war; a similar stretch of authority had been made in the first Dutch war. A proclamation was also issued, containing rigorous clauses in favour of pressing: this was accompanied with another, full of menaces against those who presumed to express themselves disrespectfully of his majesty's measures, and

even those who connived at such discourse, by hearing it without informing against the speakers. All these arbitrary measures shewed, that the court were bent on overturning that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

The cabal ministry had hit upon another method of filling the king's coffers, which was by intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant-ships from Smyrna; which was supposed to be worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes, who struck the first stroke in the former war by his reprisals in Guinea, was pitched upon to begin the war now determined on, by attacking these ships. Accordingly, he was sent out with a fleet of men of war. Under him were the Earl of Ossory; as vice-admiral, in the Resolution, and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the Cambridge. Holmes fell in with Sir Edward Spragge, who was returning home with his squadron from the Mediterranean, where he had effectually annoyed the Algerines; but, being desirous of achieving the exploit without any sharer in the honour, he suffered Spragge to continue his voyage homewards, without availing himself of his assistance. Sir Robert Holmes soon after descried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five men of war, commanded by Admiral Van Nesse, who, having received intimation of the design that was formed, put his ships of war, and their convoy, into an admirable state of defence. On the 13th of March, 1672, the English admiral attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity, and the combat was maintained the whole of that day; the next morning it was renewed, and continued again till night: on the third day one of the Dutch ships of war was taken, and five rich merchant-ships; the rest were saved by the admirable address of the Dutch commander, and, by favour of a thick fog, were brought safe to Holland. The states-general exclaimed loudly against this piratical attempt, which appeared

appeared the more dishonourable, as, upon the whole, it had been attended with very little success: the English nation, in general, condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and even the king himself was ashamed of the undertaking. The ministry pretended that it was no other than a casual rencounter, occasioned by the pride of the Dutch admiral, who refused to strike his topsails in compliment to the English squadron. Soon after four Dutch East India ships were taken by some cruisers from England, and were condemned as lawful prizes, even before the declaration of war.

The next step was to declare war against the Dutch; the reasons assigned for which were, that they had refused to send home the English families settled in Surinam, agreeable to the stipulations entered into at Breda; for having denied the honours due to the English flag; and for having ridiculed the king and people of England, in medals and pictures. The Dutch were long at a loss what to make of this latter charge, until it was discovered that a portrait of Cornelius De Witt, the pensionary's brother, had been painted by order of the magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, on the back-ground of which were represented some ships on fire: this was construed to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, where De Witt had distinguished himself. Thus, though the insult itself, which was committed in open war, had long been forgiven, the picture of it drew severe vengeance on the country.

To these charges the Dutch replied, that they had not detained the English families at Surinam, but they themselves had refused to quit the colony; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their topsails, on their own coast, to any English yacht, which was the circumstance resented; and that they had never countenanced any pictures, or medals, that reflected upon the honour of the king, and the people of England. But it was in vain to remonstrate

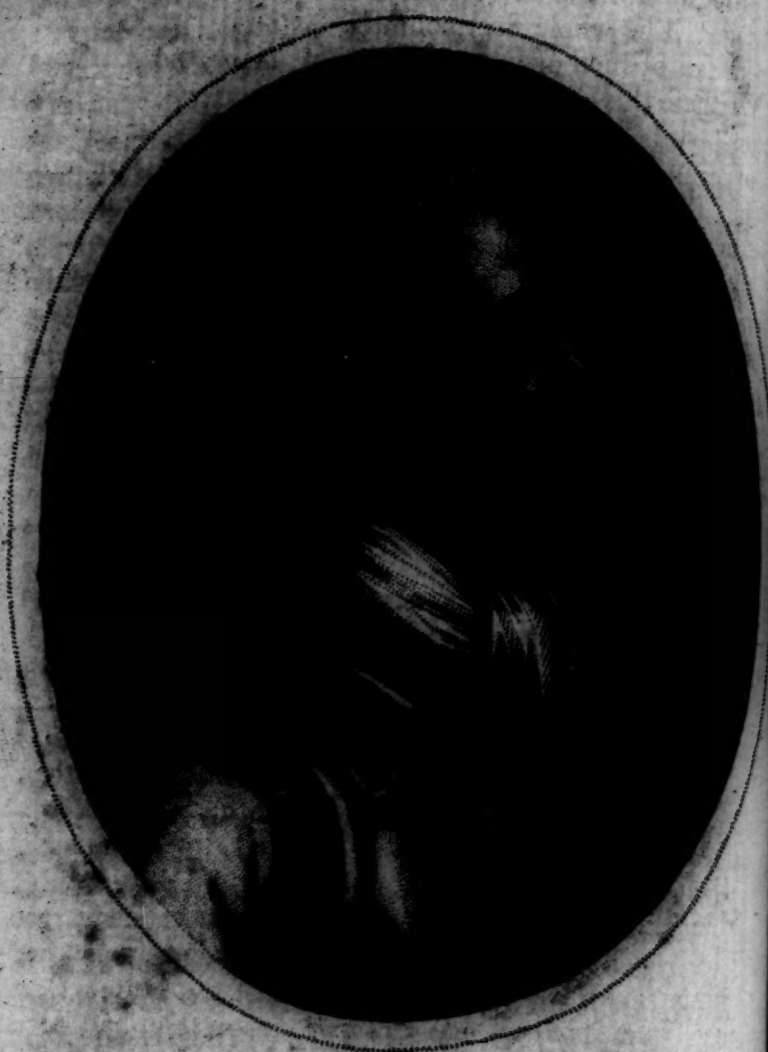
when measures were predetermined. In this dispute, as in the former, such ships as had been detained in port were dismissed on both sides.

War was declared in England against Holland, in London, on the 28th of March, and presently after by France. The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now devoted to destruction; Louis XIV. was at the head of an army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, commanded by brave and experienced generals. During a number of years, the navy of Holland engrossed the whole attention of the ministry, while the army was considered as a dangerous means of strengthening the hands of their opposers. The two violent wars which, during the last twenty years, had been waged with England, had improved both the skill and the courage of the seamen; and, though many of their great commanders had lost their lives in one or other of these desperate actions which had been fought, yet there still remained to Holland, a naval officer, equal, if not superior, in abilities, experience, and intrepidity, to any which it had lost; and perhaps not inferior to any sea commander of the age. This man was De Ruyter. The first object therefore was to equip a fleet, and thereby to attempt to strike some decisive blow, which should give a turn to the aspect of affairs. De Ruyter put to sea with the most formidable fleet that the republic of Holland had ever sent out; on-board of which was Cornelius De Witt, as deputy from the states. The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than in the former war he had done with the Dutch, sent the Marechal d'Etrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May, and immediately after the king went down to Portsmouth; and, to shew the confidence he placed in his new ally, went on-board the French admiral. The combined fleets sailed from thence to the Downs; the
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EARL of SANDWICH

Published as the Act Directs May 17 1797

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Duke of York, as admiral, bearing the red flag, and the Earl of Sandwich the blue; the French squadron brought up the rear, their admiral bearing a white flag. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five men of war, and on-board of them four thousand and ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on-board of which were one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch fleet amounted to ninety-one men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. The English and French fleets lay at anchor, in such disorder, in Solebay, on the coast of Suffolk, that, had the Dutch fleet borne down upon them precipitately, their fire-ships would, most probably, have annihilated their enemies, and effected a victory more decisive and signal than history has hitherto recorded. This danger the Earl of Sandwich perceived, and urged the Duke of York to remove, by making a more extended disposition; but, instead of having his advice followed, which his great experience and tried bravery entitled him to expect, the petulant duke intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. This insult is supposed to have sunk so deep into the mind of Sandwich, whose nice sense of honour could not brook the most distant imputation, as to actuate him to the desperate part which he took in the engagement that soon after ensued. However, the appearance of the Dutch fleet that same day justified the precaution that had been advised; but the slowness of its approach enabled the combined fleets to form a line of battle, in order for which many ships were obliged to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation. The engagement began about eight in the morning. De Ruyter, with his division, attacked the center of the English fleet, com-
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manded by the Duke of York; whilst the Earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, of one hundred guns, made haste to weather the headland, and attack Van Ghent's division. The impetuous valour of the earl carried him into the midst of the enemy, where, although badly supported by many of the ships under his command, he, almost alone, dealt terrible destruction to the enemy. He killed Admiral Van Ghent, and beat off his ship; he destroyed another large ship that attempted to board him, sunk three fire-ships as they were approaching to grapple with his rigging; and although six hundred of his men were killed, being two-thirds of the ship's company, and his ship dreadfully shattered by the shot of the enemy, he never slackened the fury of his fire upon all who assailed him. At length a fourth fire-ship ran aboard on the quarter of his crippled ship, and set it in flames. Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, who was almost the only officer that survived, in vain entreated this brave man to abandon the ship, and consult his own safety by taking to the boat, but in vain; he remained on-board till almost surrounded by flames, when he plunged into the sea, and there perished.

Whilst Sandwich had been pressing forward in quest of the enemy, De Ruyter, had borne down on the Duke of York, and attacked him with all the fury of intrepid valour. For two hours the engagement was maintained with such activity, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it to have been the most obstinate of thirty-two actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ship was so shattered that he was obliged to quit her, and hoist his flag on-board another; and his division was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joseph Jordan, who succeeded Sandwich, and had by this time completed the confusion of Van Ghent's ships, which Sandwich began to spread, bore down to the succour of the duke and his red squadron. The battle was then more equally maintained, and continued, without

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without any decisive advantage being gained, till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The Dutch were rescued from a most disgraceful defeat, by the scattered squadron which Van Ghent had commanded rallying when they found themselves no longer pressed by the English, and bravely bearing down to the assistance of their countrymen. Cornelius Evertzen vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and De Ruyter and Allemond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships. The English lost the Royal James, and four smaller men of war. The Dutch lost three of their best ships, one of which was sunk, another burnt, and a third, (the Staveren,) taken; a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by Captain Brakell, (who had gained such honour by breaking the boom at Chatham, and thereby effecting every thing which followed in consequence of it,) was entirely disabled.

The French squadron was only engaged during the onset, for as soon as the battle grew fierce they cautiously withdrew, not from any natural cowardice, though the French navy was, at that time, little qualified to encounter such veterans in arms as the Dutch then were; but the views of the French court led them to play off the two maritime powers against each other. The French however, notwithstanding all their backwardness to fight, lost two men of war, together with their Rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. The English sustained a very heavy loss by the death of many men of note: besides the Earl of Sandwich, who was a national loss, fell Captain Digby, of the Henry; Captain Pierce, of the St. George; Captain Waterworth, of the Ann; Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge; Sir John Fox, of the Prince; and Captain Hannam, of the Triumph. Among the volunteers there fell Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montagu, the sixth son of the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Philip Carteret, and Sir Charles Harbord. Of private men about

two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think it adviseable to publish any list, their loss therefore can only be conjectured, but by the suppression of it it may be supposed to be too great to be told.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Louis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. This summer he kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making incursions within a league of Amsterdam itself. Thus was the greatest mercantile republic that ever existed, upon the very brink of utter destruction. The richest families, and those who were most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The Dutch would have no longer existed but in the most distant part of the East-Indies. Amsterdam, which is the staple and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand men, would presently have become only one vast lake. Four deputies came to the French king's camp, to implore his clemency in the name of a republic, which, six months before, had thought itself the arbiter between kings. The deputies were made to return several different times; but at last the king ordered his determination to be declared to them; which was, that the states should give up to him all they possessed on the other side of the Rhine, comprehending Nimeguen, together with several other towns and forts in the heart of their territories; that they should pay him twenty millions; that the French should be masters of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, without paying toll; that the catholic religion should be every where restored; that the republic should, every year, send an ambassador extraordinary to France with a gold medal, whereon should be engraved an acknowledgment, that

that they held their liberties of Louis XIV. and, finally, that they should also make satisfaction to the King of England, and the princes of the empire, particularly those of Cologne and Munster, by whom Holland still continued to be ravaged.

These conditions of peace, which approached so near to slavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage. The Dutch resolved to die with their arms in their hands. The hearts and the hopes of the nation were all turned on the Prince of Orange. The people became enraged against the grand pensionary, who had sued for peace; and their seditious fury soon joined the designs and animosity of the prince's party. An attempt was immediately made against the life of the grand pensionary John De Witt, and Cornelius his brother, both whom the populace at the Hague murdered. They immediately cut the dykes which kept out the sea; and the country houses, which are innumerable about Amsterdā, the villages, and the neighbouring towns, such as Leyden and Delft, were overwhelmed. The country people did not repine at seeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amsterdam appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of war, which had depth of water sufficient to make them be stationed round the city. There was the greatest scarcity among the inhabitants; especially of fresh water, which was sold for sixpence half a pint: but they considered these necessities as more tolerable than slavery. It is worthy the observation of posterity, that Holland, when thus distressed and overwhelmed on land, and, as it were, no longer a state, yet continued formidable at sea; which, indeed, is the true element of this people.

These distresses of the Dutch, and the boundless ambition of the French monarch, procured them many powerful friends, who could not be indifferent spectators of the ruin of those provinces. The Emperor

Leopold, the great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, all joined in supporting the Dutch; and, as no more conquests could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis thought it adviseable to leave his army, and return home. Soon after, the army, being weakened by numerous garrisons in the towns which had been reduced, was obliged to retreat before the Prince of Orange, then elected stadtholder, who recovered all that the French had seized.

There was no ally on whom the Dutch more depended for assistance than the parliament of England, and the king's necessities obliged him, at length, to summon a parliament to meet on the 4th of February 1673. To this parliament Britain, perhaps, owes the liberty it now enjoys. Charles opened the session, by observing, in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his resolution to maintain his grant of indulgence; and that, instead of diminishing, he intended to encrease his army: a declaration which discovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to obtain his will by an army, to whose establishment parliament had not consented. But the house of commons, with a true English spirit, remonstrated, in an address, that the dispensing power he had asserted in his declaration did not belong to his crown. Charles gave an ambiguous answer, and, in a second address, they insisted on one more explicit. In another, they pressed him to dismiss the popish officers of his army; and, in a fourth, to disband the army itself, as soon as the peace was concluded. They passed the famous test-act, against popery, which struck the staff of lord high-treasurer from the hand of Lord Clifford, and that of lord high-admiral from the hand of the king's brother. Charles, now declining a conflict with his parliament, relinquished his pretension to a dispensing power; breaking, with his own hands, the seal affixed to the declaration of indulgence. The

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J. Chapman Sculp

PRINCE RUPERT.

Published as the Act directs Dec. 1. 1796

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commons, to recompense the king for his concessions, granted him a supply, and passed an act of general pardon and indemnity, which screened ministers from all farther enquiry.

The Dutch in the mean time continued to defend themselves with great valour. Although the chief attention of the belligerent powers was confined to the vicinity of their respective states, yet Sir Tobias Bridges, with six ships from Barbadoes, took from the Dutch the island of Tobago, in the West-Indies; and also St. Eustatia, the latter of which was re-taken soon after by the Dutch admiral, Evertzen. On the other hand, the Hollanders possessed themselves of St. Helena; but this also was soon recovered, the English surprising the Dutch garrison, at a place where only two persons a-breast could climb up the rocks.

But though the king had, for some time, tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and the money granted him by parliament enabled him to equip a fleet, the command of which he gave to Prince Rupert, under whom commanded the Earl of Ossory and Sir Edward Spragge; a French fleet, commanded by d'Etrées, joined them. The combined fleets set sail towards the coasts of Holland, on the 28th of May, and found the enemy lying at anchor within the sands of Schonvelt, in Zealand.

There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness in which every thing is there involved. No wonder therefore that accounts of those battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when delivered by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not decisive.

five. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obstinacy on either side; but whether the Dutch or the allies first retired, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss, in the former of these actions, fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons; and they thereby exposed them to all the fire of the enemy. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement. It was sufficient glory to De Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a descent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the present circumstances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was also suspected not to favour the king's projects for subduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from these motives he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy as his well-known valour gave reason to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that during this war, though the English, with their allies, much overmatched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. If Prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into
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harbour, that he might refit his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted, and he again put to sea. About the middle of the month of July, Prince Rupert was again on the Dutch coast, having on-board his fleet the troops intended for making a descent. A Dutch East-India ship, richly laden, was taken, and De Ruyter, bent on getting rid of such troublesome guests, bore down to engage the two fleets. Prince Rupert hereupon sent repeated orders to the French admiral to make sail, which however he very faintly complied with. The slow manner in which the French advanced, gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect. Early, on the 11th of August, he bore down upon the confederates, who were formed in good order; the French in the van, Prince Rupert in the centre, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this situation the French had a fair opportunity of getting the wind of the enemy, which however they neglected. The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of about seventy: so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republic. Brankert was opposed to d'Etrées, De Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Spragge. It is remarkable, that in all actions these brave admirals last-mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy their valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle as if there was no mean between death and victory. The French fleet in general, rear-admiral Martel alone excepted, kept aloof; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of De Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, shone out with distinguished lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies

enemies with whom he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear-admiral, who had been separated from him, he hastened to the relief of Spragge, who was hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Spragge first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on-board the St. George; while Tromp was, for a like reason, obliged to quit his ship, the Golden Lion, and go on-board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valourous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their seconds. Offory, rear-admiral to Spragge, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Spragge was leaving her in order to hoist his flag on-board a third ship, and return to the charge, when a shot, which had passed through the St. George, took his boat and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself. Prince Rupert, perceiving that whole division almost totally disabled, sent three fire-ships among the Dutch fleet, which was likewise greatly damaged, and made signal for the French squadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed this order while the enemy were in confusion, occasioned by the fire-ships, a victory would probably have been obtained; but the French admiral paid no regard to the signal, and the greatest part of the English fleet had been so roughly handled, that the prince could not pursue his advantage: he therefore collected his straggling ships, and hauled off to the English coasts, leaving the victory undecided. Notwithstanding all the advantages which the Dutch gained on the blue squadron, yet they neither took nor sunk one English man of war; and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves, and Captain Havard, besides the gallant Admiral Spragge; and no great number of private men. On their side they lost two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thousand private men. The

benefits

benefits they drew from this battle was great, for they thereby opened their ports, which before the battle were entirely shut up, and defeated all thoughts of an invasion. When Martel, the French admiral, remonstrated with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the commander in chief not to obey his signals. On his return to France, Dr. Campbell asserts, from the authority of a pamphlet published soon after the action, and written by a person of consequence on-board the English fleet, Martel was sent to the bastille for the active part he had taken in the engagement.

Soon after this battle the English returned into the Thames; and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that they employed a whole month in reaching Brest.

The King of Sweden had offered his mediation to adjust the differences between the contending powers, and a congress was thereupon opened at Cologne. But these conferences were not successful. After this battle the states-general wrote to Charles, wherein they expressed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles that had hitherto retarded it. In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers, and of his ally; they represented to him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a step, a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and please all the rest of Europe. Farther to induce the king to peace, they represented the base behaviour of the French in the last sea-fights, and that an offer had been made them from France of a separate peace, without any respect being had to England. Charles, by this time, perceived that it would be impossible to maintain the war while the parliament was so determined to make the redress of grievances precede the granting of supplies: he therefore made a virtue of necessity, and laid the terms proposed by the

Marquis de Fresno, the Spanish minister at London, who was invested with full powers to treat of peace, before his parliament; and on their passing a vote, humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with the states in order to a speedy peace, he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate it with the Spanish envoy. In fifteen days from the beginning of the conference the treaty was concluded, twenty-eighth of February, 1674; it consisted of a renewal of the peace of Breda, with several additions. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive manner; commercial regulations were made; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; the English planters at Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure; and the states agreed to pay the King of England the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds sterling, towards defraying the expence of his armaments. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that she could no longer remain neuter, if hostilities were continued against Holland; and a sensible decay of trade was foreseen, in case a rupture should ensue with that kingdom. The prospect of this loss contributed very much to increase the national aversion to the war, and to enliven the joy for its conclusion. There was in the French service a body of English troops, to the number of ten thousand men, who had acquired honour in every action in which they fought, and had greatly contributed to the rapid successes which the French king, at one time, was crowned with. These troops were very obnoxious to the Dutch; but Charles pleaded that he was bound in honour not to recall them; he however pledged himself to the states, by a secret article, not to allow them to be recruited. But this engagement his partiality to France prevented him from observing.

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Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they still continued to examine grievances. They insisted on the king's disbanding his land-forces and guards; they appointed a committee to consider the militia-law passed in the Scottish parliament, authorising the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to enquire into the state of Ireland, with respect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the habeas-corpus; and brought in another, obliging the members of both houses to take the test-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this spirit in the parliament, but he rendered these measures ineffectual, by an immediate prorogation; and, having thus freed himself from all foreign and domestic disputes, he relapsed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleasure. The Duke of York had now married Maria D'Este, sister to Francis duke of Modena; the princess being of the Romish communion, the match was extremely disrelished by the nation. He had before married Anne, a daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, by whom he had two daughters, the Princess Maria and Princess Anne.

All this time the king had tyrannized over the Scots in a very cruel manner. Being apprized of the tendency of presbyterian principles to a republican form of government, Charles, like his predecessors, had endeavoured to introduce episcopacy there, but in a much more violent manner than had been formerly attempted. The people, as might have been expected, were displeased to the highest degree; they resolved, however, to give no sign of mutiny or sedition, notwithstanding their discontent. This submission made their case still worse; it being foolishly imagined, that, as they did not complain for a little ill usage, they would submit altogether if they were worse treated. Affairs remained in a peaceable situation, till, in 1661, a very

severe act was passed in England against conventicles, and this severity was imitated by the Scots parliament, who passed an act of the same kind. Military force was next let loose. Wherever the people had generally forsaken the churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. They were commanded by Sir James Turner, a man of a very furious temper and dissolute life. He went about and received lists from the clergy of those who absented themselves from the churches, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof, or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them; and quartered soldiers upon the supposed criminals till he received payment. An insurrection being dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and entrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond, two men of very cruel dispositions, and the Scots parliament gave full scope to all their enormities. Representations were now made to the king, who promised some redress. But his lenity came too late. The people, in 1668, rose in arms. They surprised Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have put him to death: but, finding his orders to be more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanark they renewed the covenant, and published their manifesto; where they professed their submission to the king, and only desired the re-establishment of presbytery, and of their former ministers. Their force never exceeded two thousand men; and, though the country in general bore them great favour, men's spirits were so subdued, that the insurgents could expect no farther increase of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose them. The number of covenanters was now reduced to eight hundred, and these no way capable of contending with regular forces. Having advanced near Edinburgh, they attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland-hills. Here they were attacked by the king's troops, and received the first charge very resolutely; but that was all the action.

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Immediately they fell into confusion, and fled. About forty were killed on the spot, and one hundred and thirty taken prisoners.

So long ago as the year 1661, the presbyterians had deputed one Sharpe to lay their grievances before the king. Instead of this, their deputy abandoned the cause altogether, became their violent enemy, and as a reward of his treachery was made Archbishop of St. Andrew's. After the battle of Pentland-hills, this man was the foremost to take vengeance on the unhappy insurgents, whose oppressed state and inoffensive behaviour had made them objects of universal compassion. Ten were hanged on one gibbet in Edinburgh; thirty-five before their own doors in different places. They might all have saved their lives if they would have renounced the covenant; but this they absolutely refused. The executions were going on, when the king wrote a letter to the privy council, in which he ordered that such of the prisoners as should simply promise to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations. This letter was brought to the council by Burnet, but was not immediately delivered by Sharpe. What his motives were for this delay, we pretend not to say; but certain it is, that no action of his life will bear a worse construction than this. It had been customary to put these poor creatures to very severe tortures, in order to make them confess that to be falsehood which they believed to be true. By Sharpe's delay, one Hugh Maccaill had been tortured, who would otherwise have escaped; and so violent were the torments he endured, that he expired under them.

As the violent methods used by the king were found ineffectual to obtain his purpose in Scotland, in 1678 a scheme of comprehension was tried, by which it was proposed to diminish greatly the authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right
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of precedency among the presbyters: but this too was rejected by the people, who well knew its tendency. The next scheme was an indulgence. By this, the most popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion, were settled in vacant churches; and small salaries of about twenty pounds a-year were offered to the rest, till they should be otherwise established. This bounty was rejected as the wages of criminal silence, and the replaced ministers soon repented of their compliance; conventicles multiplied, and the covenanters daily met in arms at their places of worship, though they usually dispersed themselves after divine service. These mild methods being rejected, a renewal of the persecution commenced under the administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, and in which Archbishop Sharpe had a principal hand. Application was made to Charles for some redress of these grievances: but he was too much taken up with his pleasures to take any effectual means of putting a stop to them; nay, even while he retracted them, he was persuaded to avow and praise them in a letter to the privy-council. The consequence of all this was, that the covenanters were at last so much enraged against Sharpe, whom they considered as an apostate, and experienced to be an unrelenting persecutor, that, on the 3d of May 1679, he was way-laid and murdered with all the circumstances of unrelenting cruelty. The murder of Sharpe produced a persecution still more violent, which at last brought on another insurrection.

The covenanters finding themselves obliged to meet in large bodies, and bring arms along with them for their own security, set forth a declaration against prelacy, which they published at Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow; and in the market-place there they burned several acts of parliament which had established that mode of ecclesiastical government, and had prohibited all conventicles. For this purpose they chose
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the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration; and previously extinguished the bonfires that had been kindled on that occasion. Count Graham, afterwards Viscount Dundee, an active and enterprising officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The covenanters then finding themselves unwarily engaged in rebellion, were obliged to persevere; and therefore pushed on to Glasgow, which, though repulsed at first, they afterwards made themselves masters of. Here they dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

Charles, being now alarmed, dispatched against the covenanters a small body of English cavalry under the Duke of Monmouth. He joined the Scots guards, and some regiments of militia levied from the well-affected counties; and with great celerity marched in quest of the insurgents. They had taken post at Bothwell-bridge, between Hamilton and Glasgow; where there was no access but by this bridge, and where a small body was able to defend it against the king's army. The whole army of the covenanters never exceeded eight thousand men, and they had in reality no other generals than their clergymen. Monmouth attacked the bridge, and the covenanters maintained their post as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for more, they received orders to quit their post and retire; and this imprudent measure occasioned an immediate defeat. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and drew up his forces opposite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to the rout. About seven hundred were killed in the pursuit; for, properly speaking, there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken prisoners, and treated with humanity by Monmouth. Such as promised to live peaceably under the present government were dismissed; and about three hundred

hundred who refused this condition were shipped for Barbadoes, but unfortunately perished by the way. Two of their clergymen were hanged. Soon after, an act of indemnity was passed: but Lauderdale took care that it should afford little protection to the unhappy covenanters; for, though orders were given to connive thenceforward at all conventicles, he found means under a variety of pretences to elude the execution of them.

In the latter end of the year 1675, Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to the Mediterranean, to chastise the pirates of Tripoli, who had interrupted our trade in that sea, and, coming before that place in the dead of the night, manned out his boats, and sent them into port, under the conduct of his lieutenant, Mr. Cloudesley Shovel, (afterwards Sir Cloudesley,) who, first seizing the enemy's guard-boat, went on undiscovered, and surprized all the Tripoline ships which lay in port, being four in number; having burnt them, he returned in triumph to the fleet, without the loss of one man. This bold and effectual stroke brought the Tripolines to conclude a peace with the English admiral, in which they made all the concessions that were desired.

The war between France and Holland still continued to be maintained in Flanders; the Prince of Orange, who headed the army of the states, displayed all the skill of the most experienced general, with the bravery of a dauntless hero, and successfully made head against all the force which Louis could bring down against him.

The English nation could not quietly remain a spectator of this unequal conflict; they felt a sympathetic commiseration for the States of Holland, being powerfully engaged in their interest from the principles of religious and civil liberty, which had been equally contended for by both countries. The commons therefore addressed the king, entreating him not to defer entering into such alliances as might secure his own dominions,

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dominions, and the liberties of Europe; and, in case war with the French king should be the result of his measures, they promised to grant him such aids and supplies as would enable him to support the honour and interest of the nation. The king replied, that the only way to prevent danger was to put him in a condition to make preparation for his security. The parliament saw, too clearly, that his union with France, during the war against Holland, was founded on projects subversive of the rights of his people; and, as the same union was still secretly maintained, the same projects might justly be supposed to exist. They clearly saw, that the king only wanted to obtain the money, which he meant to squander in an ignoble and prodigal manner. The making use of such dishonourable means therefore, to so ignoble an end, rendered him utterly unworthy the confidence of his people.

The house of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. In the present emergence, a general distrust of the king prevailed; and the parliament resolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they "besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States-general of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end." They supported their advice with reasons, and promised speedy and effectual supplies, for preserving his majesty's honour, and ensuring the safety of the public. The king pretended the highest anger at this address, which he represented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in severe terms, and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the king both might, with ease, have preserved the balance of power in Europe, which it has since cost this island a great expence of blood and treasure to restore, and might, by perseverance, have at last regained, in some tolerable measure, after all past errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithstanding *his* momentary appearance of vigour against France and popery, and *their* momentary inclinations to rely on his faith, *he* was still believed to be, at the bottom, engaged in the same interests, and *they* soon relapsed into distrust and jealousy. The secret memoirs of this reign, which have since been published, prove, beyond a doubt, that the king had, at this time, concerted measures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, but to procure a grant of money; and he trusted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

A match was now proposed between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York. She, and her sister Anne, had been educated in the Protestant religion, and the Prince of Orange seemed to relish the prospect of such a marriage. Charles at first was neutral, or rather seemed averse to such an alliance, which he knew must be extremely disagreeable to his brother. But when the Earl of Danby, who warmly promoted it, represented that such an union would, most probably, bring over the Prince of Orange to the views of Charles, the king began to see it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to visit England, after the campaign of 1677 should be closed. The prince accordingly arrived in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well pleased with the character and person of Mary;

Mary; and, until he had an opportunity of being acquainted with the lady, he declined entering with the king into the subject of the marriage; for so opposite were the sentiments of this prince from those of persons of his rank, that he declared he placed a great part of his happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. Charles agreed to the prince's own terms; and the portion of the princess was fixed at forty thousand pounds. This match gave general satisfaction; all parties strove who should applaud it most. The city of London welcomed the news with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and approbation. The lord-mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence. An alliance with a prince, descended from a noble race of heroes, himself retaining all the virtues of his ancestry, was a joyful event to people breathing after freedom, who had, through that whole century, a short period only excepted, been governed by a succession of princes, who had made the welfare of the nation subservient to their own ambition.

Immediately upon the marriage, Charles and his nephew entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, the terms of which, after much altercation, were at length adjusted. The Prince of Orange undertook to lay the conditions before the states, and use all his influence to obtain their concurrence, whilst Charles engaged to bring over the French king to them; at the same time expressing his firm adherence to this plan of pacification, and that he would come to an open rupture with Louis, should he refuse the proffered mediation. The prince, having now accomplished every public as well as private object of his journey to England, returned with his bride to Holland.

An ambassador was soon after sent from England to the court of France, to notify this agreement. The French king suppressed his resentment on the occasion.

He told Mr. De Duras, the envoy, that the king, his master, knew he might always command a peace, but he thought it was hard to part with some of those towns in Flanders, where he had expended large sums on the fortifications; he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but, even with regard to these, he would send instructions to Barillon, his ambassador at London. The French king knew that there was one argument which would always weigh with such a necessitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received secret instructions to relinquish, if necessary, all the towns except Tournay, and even to promise an equivalent for that, if the success of the treaty rested on such a concession; but that minister cajoled the king in such a manner, that his agreement with the Prince of Orange was soon forgotten, and a negociation of a very different nature set on foot.

The character of this prince is very strongly displayed in this long protracted treaty, which, at length, brought on the peace of Nimeguen. In one period of the treaty, the States of Holland pressed Charles to an immediate declaration of war against France; and Sir William Temple, a very able and faithful minister, had undertaken, with the Dutch ambassador, to enforce their suit, by assuring the king that they would break off their negotiation with Louis, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding all evasion ineffectual, told Temple, that, as the states were not averse to embrace the terms acceded to by France, and as Louis had offered to purchase, with a sum of money, his consent to that which he could not prevent, he saw no reason for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore ordered Temple to treat with Barillon; but that honest statesman refused to be concerned in such a scandalous negociation. However, Charles was at no loss to find an abandoned courtier to drive the bargain for the sale of his master's honour. The treaty was no other than a stipulation of conditions, in consideration

deration of which the King of England should forbear declaring in favour of the allies, notwithstanding the importunities of his parliament. The agreement was entered into, and three hundred thousand pounds was to be the purchase-money; but Barillon afterwards gave the king to understand, that his master would not pay the money, unless he (Charles) would engage, by a secret article, that he never would maintain an army that should exceed eight thousand men; reckoning the whole force of the three kingdoms. Charles, on hearing this, exclaimed, "Cod's flesh! (his usual oath,) does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises of making me absolute master of my people come to this? or does he think *that* a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Louis had now reached the height of that glory which ambition can afford. His ministers and negotiators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A successful war had been carried on against an alliance, composed of the greatest potentates in Europe. Considerable conquests had been made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An advantageous peace was at last concluded, in which he had prescribed the terms. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely to cement soon any new confederacy. This state of France and of Europe held out to this elevated genius a fair prospect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of surpassing the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England, says Mr. Hume, continued much longer in the same condition, and under the same government, it is not easy to conceive that he could have failed of his purpose.

In proportion as this posture of affairs in Europe exalted the French, they excited indignation among the English, whose animosity, roused by terror, rose

to a great height against that rival nation. They saw their king, instead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, sacrifice his own honour and interest, by acting a part subservient to the common enemy; and in every measure which he took, discovering either no view at all, or such a one as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain, Holland, the emperor, the the princes of Germany, called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conspired to raise her to a station more glorious than she had ever before attained, her king, from mean pecuniary motives, had secretly sold her alliance to Louis, and was bribed into an interest contrary to that of his people. His active schemes, in conjunction with France, were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the spirited opposition of the parliament was the only remedy on which the public could depend, for the many evils with which the nation was threatened, from the misguided counsels of the king. Such were the dispositions of men's minds at the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, in August 1678.

Whilst the general tranquillity of Europe was once more restored, England was filled with alarm at the apprehension of a popish plot. When the spirit of the English is once excited, they either find objects of resentment, or they make them. The rumour of a popish conspiracy was strongly propagated, and one Titus Oates soon appeared to give it confirmation. This man had been, from his youth, an indigent and infamous adventurer. He was abandoned, illiterate, and shameless; he had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices: he then professed himself a Roman catholic, went to the jesuits college at St. Omer, but was dismissed, after some residence there, with infamy: he then returned to London, filled with projects of revenge; and the animosities of this unhappy nation soon appeared a proper place of nourishment to give this

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viper's virulence effect. He deposed upon oath, that the jesuits, several of whom he named, and who were soon after taken up, had tried the king under the name of the *Black Bastard*, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that several attempts had been made without success; and that not only the king's brother, but even the queen, were privy to the design. The house of commons immediately took fire at this pretended conspiracy; they petitioned for removing the queen, rewarded Oates with a gratuity of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conspirators to be tried in the courts of justice. Several jesuits were tried; their very profession was at that time sufficient to destroy them; before a partial judge, and an exasperated jury, no mercy could be expected, and several, though apparently innocent, were executed as traitors, upon this miscreant's information. Coleman the Duke of York's secretary, Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Fenwick, and Whitebread, were among the first that fell; they died, declaring their innocence to the last moment of their lives.

While the Protestants were labouring to humble the Papists, these two parties were, at the same time, mutually employed in ruining each other. Plot was set against plot; that contrived by Oates was called the *Jesuits Plot*; that set to oppose it was called by the name of the *Meal-tub Plot*, as the scheme of the conspiracy was found hidden in a meal-tub. The bottom of this affair is difficult to discover. One Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burnt in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to every species of public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities: this man, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence, and the king's. This
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same man, under pretence of revealing new popish plots, had obtained access to Shaftesbury, and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both.

Of all these plots, tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom, it is said the Earl of Shaftesbury was at the bottom. He possessed uncommon abilities, joined with turbulence, dissimulation, and unbounded ambition. It was thought that this nobleman, in revenge for his disgrace at court, headed the demagogue faction, and alarmed the king with unceasing dangers.

In February 1679, a new parliament was chosen, which soon discovered a firm spirit of opposition to the king's views. Charles now saw the expediency of conciliating the affections of his subjects; for which purpose he removed his brother, the Duke of York, from his presence; and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his duchess, and daughter Anne, to Brussels. The king, in his speech to his new parliament, made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. A bill was brought into the house of commons soon after its assembling, for the exclusion of James duke of York, from the succession; the king, to qualify this spirit of resentment against his brother, proposed several restrictions to be laid on a popish successor; but these, not equalling the views of parliament, were rejected; and, in the second session, the exclusion-bill passed the house of commons, by a majority of seventy-nine voices. Being carried to the house of peers, it produced a long and very warm debate, all which time the king was present; when it was at length thrown out. All the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them, the church of England, they imagined, or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of presby-

presbyterianism than of popery; which, though favoured by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation. The commons were greatly incensed at this repulse. All things threatened a renewal of the troubles from which the kingdom had been but lately set free. When the king applied for money to enable him to maintain Tangiers, which he declared his present revenues unable to defend, instead of complying, they voted such an address as was, in reality, a remonstrance, and one little less violent than that famous remonstrance which ushered in the civil wars. All the abuses of government, almost from the beginning of the reign, are there insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogation and dissolution of parliament; and as all these measures, as well as the several plots which had either been discovered, or supposed, are therein ascribed to the machinations of Papists, it was plainly insinuated, that the king had, all along, laid under the influence of that party, and was, in reality, the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of his people.

Among the acts passed by this parliament, in favour of liberty, was the habeas-corpus bill; and we, at present, owe our absolute security from arbitrary imprisonment chiefly to the patriots of that parliament. The great charter had laid the foundation of this inestimable privilege; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from ministers and judges. By the act of habeas-corpus, it was prohibited to send any one to prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse, to any prisoner, a writ of habeas-corpus, by which the gaoler is directed to produce, in court, the body of the prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lies within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in

three days, and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

The year 1680 is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory. The party in the opposition compared the courtiers to the Irish banditti, called Tories; and they, in return, expressed their contempt of the anti-courtiers, by classing them under the title of Whigs; a term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were supposed to live upon a kind of buttermilk, called *whig* in that country. From these beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which serve to distinguish parties in England. The tories were so denominated from the Irish word *Toree*, or "Give me."

The king having now, for more than thirty years, uniformly spurned at the interest of his people, and sacrificed it, on every occasion, to the basest views, a general discontent had diffused itself over all sects and parties. Those bewitching manners, which, in a youthful monarch, had reconciled the nation to his wildest excesses, had, by this time, lost their charm; besides, Charles had changed his disposition as he began to decline into years. He found it necessary however to call another parliament, which he appointed to meet him at Oxford, the city of London having long taken the lead in measures of opposition. The new parliament, however, seemed still more turbulent than the former; the members came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight, and not to deliberate. The representatives of London were, in particular, attended by a numerous body of horsemen, wearing cockades, inscribed, *No Popery, no slavery*. The same spirit that had animated the former parliament, seemed redoubled in this. They
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insisted on the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; they persisted in declaring that all Papists should be banished, and their children educated in the Protestant religion; that the doctrine of passive obedience was injurious to the rights of society. In a word, they were displeased with every measure the king proposed, and prepared to recall the former aristocracy into the kingdom. Charles, seeing that nothing could be obtained from so restive an assembly, once more dissolved his parliament, with a steadfast resolution of never calling another.

From the moment the royal and parliamentary commotions were ended, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power, and was resolved to leave to his successor the faults and the misfortunes of his administration. He became suspicious, austere, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs. He resolved to humble the presbyterians; these were divested of their employments, and their places filled with such as approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy testified their zeal to the court by their writings and sermons; the partizans of the king were most numerous; but those of the opposite faction were more enterprising; the mutual animosity of each was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king openly declared himself at the head of a faction. The city of London particularly fell under his resentment; he deprived them of their charter, and only restored it when he had subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority. This was so mortifying a circumstance, that all the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable,

could not be safe; and all prudent men saw no other expedient but submitting patiently to the present grievances.

There was a party, however, in England, that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and resolved to restore liberty to their country by dethroning the king who acted in such a despotic manner. The principal conspirators were Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hamden grandson to the great man of that name. James duke of Monmouth, was the king's natural son, by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities proper to engage the affections of the populace: he had a graceful person, and was brave, generous, affected popularity, and was tenderly beloved by his father. He had spent a part of his youth at Oxford, and another part in the army; so that he had the advantage of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross, a Scotchman, inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the king had been privately married to his mother. Ross even prevailed on Cosins bishop of Durham to write a certificate of their marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; by observing, that, if the Duke of York should be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view; and, if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a Papist from the throne: circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the king, but which that prince disregarded. Yet, after Cosins's death, Ross spread a report, that he had left such a certificate behind him; and this intelligence was greedily received by the multitude. Monmouth engaged the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with Sir William Courtney,

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Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the west. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, and a restless plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. These schemes had been laid in 1681: but the caution of Lord Russel, who induced the Duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and, lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners to an open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his own friends singly. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled to Amsterdam, where he soon after died. The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded, did not suppress, the designs of the conspirators. The remaining six formed a council; they corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland; and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from one another. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hamden proposed to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Besides these, there was a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these was Colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer; Lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; Ferguson, an independent minister; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen,

men, of London. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons that had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men undertook the desperate resolution of assassinating the king in his way from Newmarket; Rumbold, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road, called the *Rye-house*, and from thence the conspiracy was called the *Rye-house plot*. They deliberated on a scheme of stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket accidentally took fire, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected; to which circumstance he owed his safety. Soon after this the conspiracy was discovered; Russel, Sidney, and Walcot, were executed; Essex cut his own throat; Hamden was fined forty thousand pounds; and scarcely one escaped who had been in any manner concerned, except the Duke of Monmouth, who was the most culpable of all.

This was the last blood that was shed on account of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Severe punishments, however, were inflicted on many who treated the Duke of York unworthily. The famous Titus Oates was fined one hundred thousand pounds for calling him a Popish traitor; and he was imprisoned till he should pay it, which he was absolutely incapable of. A similar sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt. Sir Samuel Barnadiston was fined ten thousand pounds for having in some private letters reflected on the government. The government of Charles was now as absolute as that of any prince in Europe; but, to please his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the Lady Anne, his niece, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark.

This was the last remarkable transaction of this extraordinary reign. On February 2d, 1685, about eight in the morning, the king was seized with a fit of apoplexy;

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apoplexy; being dressed, and just come out of his closet, where he had been for some time after he had risen out of his bed. By being blooded, he was restored perfectly to his senses; and there were great hopes of his recovery the next day. On the fourth day the physicians despaired of his life, and therefore sent for the queen. He was in his perfect senses when she arrived. She threw herself on her knees, and asked his pardon for all her offences. He replied, that she had offended in nothing; but that he had been guilty of offences against her, and asked her pardon. He spoke with great affection to the Duke of York, and gave him excellent counsel for his future conduct. He advised him to adhere to the laws with strictness, and invariably to support the church of England. The duke seemed anxious to convince him before he died how little he intended to follow his advice. Having removed the bishops, and several of the lords who attended the bed of the king, he sent for Huddleston, a Romish priest. In the presence of the duke, the Earl of Bath, and Trevanion a captain in the guards, Huddleston gave the extreme unction to the king, and administered to him the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. All this was done in the space of half an hour. The doors were then thrown open. Six prelates, who had before attended the king, were sent to give him the sacrament. Kenn bishop of Bath and Wells, read the visitation of the sick; and, after he said that he repented of his sins, the absolution. The king assisted with seeming devotion at the service; but his mouth being distorted with fits, and his throat contracted, he could not swallow the elements. He professed, however, his satisfaction in the church of England; and expired the sixth of February, between eleven and twelve o'clock; having reigned twenty-five years, and lived fifty-five.

It will now be necessary to review some of the most important commercial events of this reign, which have
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not been fully treated of. --- Early in the reign of Charles II. the acts which prohibited the use of logwood were repealed. Two several acts of parliament had been passed, and two royal proclamations issued, in which it was called "a pernicious material used in dying." The act which encouraged the use of it recites, that it was at length found, that the dyers of England were possessed of the art of fixing the colours made of logwood, or blockwood, so that they are found as lasting and serviceable as the colours made with any other sort of dying wood. In the year 1662, the English, from the American continent, first began to cut down the logwood trees which grew in profuse abundance on the uninhabited coast of the province of Jucatan, and more especially in the bay of Campeachy; in the latter of which places they made a settlement for that purpose. This first settlement was near Cape Catoche, next to the Laguna di Terminoes. By the year 1667, this English settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood was carried thence both to New England and Jamaica. When the famous American treaty was concluded between England and Spain in 1670, each nation was confirmed in the possessions and settlements it then held in America. This encouraged more English to settle with the logwood cutters; it being in a desolate and unplanted country, where the Spaniards had given them no sort of annoyance. Two years after, however, the Spaniards began to molest these settlers, and to represent to the court of England this colony in the bay as an encroachment on the rights of Spain. Soon after, the Spaniards became so uneasy at the settlement, and the practice of cutting and carrying away logwood, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas, which were freighted with it. This conduct produced a warm remonstrance from the Earl of Arlington in 1674, to Sir William Godolphin, the English minister at Madrid; but the matter of right

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was never decided, so that it remained for a considerable time a contested point between the two nations; but our people till very lately remained in possession of the settlement which they had made in the bay.

By an act passed 14th Charles II. cap. 15. for regulating the trade of silk throwing, it appears, that above forty thousand men, women, and children, were employed in that branch of trade. The Protestants in France, being cruelly persecuted, fled over to England in great numbers, where they received protection, and were granted many privileges. By the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, the Protestant subjects of Louis XIV. were no longer suffered to enjoy the free and public toleration and exercise of their religious mode of worship, and of their faith, doctrine, and discipline. This intolerent spirit in his *most christian* majesty was productive of great good to almost all the Protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, whilst it greatly injured France, both in her population and wealth. "A part of the suburbs of London," says Voltaire, meaning Spitalfields, "was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. For other arts, some thousands of them helped to people and increase the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making crystal in perfection, which, for that reason, was about the same time lost in France." It is supposed that fifty thousand settled in England, bringing with them, as has been computed, three millions sterling in money and effects. Thus were the English enabled to set on foot many manufactures and fabrics, which, till then, had been peculiar to France; these they presently carried to greater perfection than they had before reached. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, of silk, linen, paper, glass, and hats: the silks called alamodes and lustrings, were derived entirely from them; they were

likewise greatly serviceable in manufacturing brocades, sattins, black and coloured mantuas, black paduasoyes, ducapes, watered tabbies, black velvets; also watches, cutlery-ware, clocks, jacks, locks, surgeons-instruments, hardware, toys, &c.

The yearly expence of maintaining the navy, during the first ten years of Charles the Second's reign, is laid down, from authentic vouchers, to be five hundred thousand pounds. But, after the conclusion of the second Dutch war, this expence was much reduced, until the year 1678, when a war with France was generally expected. Mr. Pepys, secretary of the admiralty, has given us an account of the state of the navy at that time, which was as follows :

5	first rates,	containing	3135	men.
4	second	-	1555	
16	third	-	5010	
33	fourth	-	6460	
12	fifth	-	1400	
7	sixth	-	423	
6	fire-ships	-	340	
83			18323	

The commerce with France, which the king's indiscretion gave rise to and encouraged, was very destructive to the interests of the kingdom; other branches of foreign trade prospered, particularly the African Company, who may be considered in the zenith of their glory at this time. The East-India Company was in a flourishing state, and the settlements in America and the West-India islands opened a new and invaluable branch of commerce to England.

In the year 1683 King Charles sent Lord Dartmouth, with twenty ships of war, utterly to demolish the town, castle, and mole, of Tangier, and to choak up its harbour. It appears to have been a place of strength when the Portuguese were in possession of it; but

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ADMIRAL LORD DARTMOUTH

Published as the Act directs Jan^y 1810.



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but great sums had been allotted by the parliament for the augmentation of its works; and, although notorious abuses were practised in the application of the money, many great improvements were made whilst it remained in the hands of the English. For the security of its haven, a superb mole was constructed, the extremities of which are said to have run out six hundred yards into the sea; but all these improvements were thrown into one promiscuous ruin. The garrison, artillery, and stores, were brought to England; whereby, says Rapin, the king was freed from a considerable annual expence, and the garrison, which was chiefly composed of popish officers and soldiers, served to augment the king's forces at home, thereby keeping in awe those who were impatient of the yoke. The possession of Tangiers would, probably, at this day, have been less an object of jealousy to the other European powers, than Gibraltar is on the opposite side of the Straits; but whether its harbour and situation on the south shore, where the current is said to run much stronger into the Mediterranean than on the other side, would have, in all respects, equally answered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not presume to determine. The rubbish of the demolished mole, and of the walls of the town, being thrown into the harbour, has so effectually choaked it up, that it is said it can never hereafter be a commodious port. Mr. Butcher relates, that, by the king's order, a considerable number of milled crown pieces, of that reign, was buried among the ruins, which may possibly, many centuries hence, declare to succeeding ages, that the place was once a member of the British empire.

About 1670 the Duke of Buckingham invited over from Venice the most able artists in the different branches of glass-making, and thereby a manufacture was established, which grew to be of great consequence, insomuch that we now export the very best glass to the very place from whence the art was at first drawn.

The king's cousin, Prince Rupert, and seventeen other persons of quality and distinction, having, in the year 1669, sent out Captain Newland to Hudson's Bay, where he settled at Port Nelson; and Captain Gilham also returning with some success, in his prospect of a trade with the Indians in that bay, King Charles granted these noble adventurers an incorporating charter, dated 2d of May, 1670, which invested them with nothing short of absolute uncontrolled power in those immense territories; but the power of the crown being restrained, particularly in the right of granting charters, at the revolution, these dangerous privileges were then revoked; and, to render charters valid, it became necessary they should receive the sanction of parliament.

Whilst England was rent with civil broils, the spirit of the people being at length incensed at the shameless manner in which the interests of the nation were sacrificed to the basest purposes, the noble colony of Pennsylvania, in North-America, took its rise. This country had hitherto been chiefly a part of Virginia, the remainder making a part of the colony of New-York. Sir William Penn, the admiral, who, among other services which he rendered his country, was greatly assisting in procuring to England the possession of Jamaica, as had been shewn in the transactions of those times, was fortunate enough to stand on good terms with the first Charles, afterwards with Cromwell, and then, on the re-establishment of the regal government, with Charles II. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had advanced several considerable sums of money to government; and these debts were not discharged at his death. It was proposed to his son, Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, that, instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. By the charter granted to him 28th of February, 1680,

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it was ceded to him, as the manner of such grants then was, almost as a sovereignty; and he determined to make it the retreat of those of his religious persuasion, who were made uneasy at home, through the bigotry and persecution of spiritual courts, and other intolerant measures. In 1681, Mr. Penn first carried out with him a large embarkation of those quakers, which were afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there, he found many English families already settled, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations. His first arrival in the New World was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property, by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but, though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms, yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himself, as much as possible, a legal possessor of the territory; and, by the use he made of it, supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake. Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation,

tion, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty, and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawning of reason, happiness, and humanity, rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage. This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man, who acknowledged a God, to the rights of a citizen, and made every Christian eligible to state employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them. Desirous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid, as much as possible, every kind of corruption, it was ordained, that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift, than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in
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search of peace? Penn assigned one thousand acres of land for twenty pounds sterling. Those who were not able to purchase considerable possessions, received smaller allotments of land, in proportion to the numbers of their children and dependents, on paying a quit-rent of about a penny an acre. Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly, the advantages of that established by Penn, were manifested in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day. The climate however is naturally very wholesome, and has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock, or sand; and the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on, in all parts, with such vigour and success, as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint-work of quakers, anabaptists, members of the church of England, methodists, presbyterians, moravians, lutherans, and catholics.

The year 1660 gave birth to the Royal Society of London, incorporated by Charles II. of which we cannot but remark, that its improvement in astronomy and geography are alone sufficient to exalt its reputation, and to demonstrate its great utility even to the mercantile world, without insisting on its many and great improvements in other arts and sciences, some of which have also a relation to commerce, navigation, manufactures, mines, agriculture, &c. To this society the world is indebted for the late discoveries appertaining to light---the principles of gravitation---motion of the fixed stars---geometry of transcendent qualities---and an hundred other discoveries, from which every part of the habitable world has received benefit.

So greatly was the commerce, and consequently the wealth, of England increased by this time, that several political writers affirm, that the revenue of England, soon after the restoration, was quintuple of what it was at the reformation from popery, at the time of Henry VIII. This, we apprehend, may be probable enough; yet no author, that we know of, has clearly made it out to be precisely such a proportion of increase; and therefore we shall leave it as we found it, a mere matter of opinion, rather than mislead our readers by positive assertions, void of absolute proof, which is not so easy to come at. However this may be, yet, notwithstanding all the political mischiefs under which the people had groaned, London was still abounding in wealth and grandeur, compared to its condition in former ages. The gay appearance of goldsmiths' shops shining with plate,

plate, all along the south side of the street called Cheap-side, then named Goldsmith's-row, was thought very grand, and exhibited a noble appearance of national wealth. The suburbs of London had also expanded themselves every way, particularly in Bloomsbury, Covent-garden, and St. Giles's; as also in the liberties of Westminster, though never famous for any kind of trade or commerce, except the staple. The Strand likewise now united London and Westminster, by a most beautiful range of palaces of the nobility, with gardens behind, reaching to the Thames, where they had their respective water-gates and stairs; each palace being named after its owner and occupier, such as Essex, Arundel, Norfolk, Salisbury, Worcester, Exeter, Hungerford, Howard, York, and Northumberland, houses, all built in one noble range, at equal distances from each other, in the grandest stile of antique architecture. Such was the state of London, when it was visited by two of the most dreadful calamities that could possibly have succeeded each other. In the month of March, 1665, it was visited by the plague, which, notwithstanding every precaution that medical skill and wise regulations could give, raged with such unabating fatality, that three, four, and five, thousand of the miserable inhabitants died weekly. The amazing number of deaths increased so fast, that the usual mode of interment could no longer be observed, large pits were dug at Holywell-mount and other outlets of the city, to which the dead were brought in carts, collected by the ring of a bell, and the doleful cry of "Bring out your dead." The bodies were put into carts, with no other covering than rugs or sheets tied round them, and were thrown into the pits in promiscuous heaps. All trade was at a stand, the shops were shut up, and every day had the appearance of a solemn sabbath. Grass grew in the Royal Exchange, and in most of the public streets; and Whitechapel might be mistaken for a green field. During the time of this dreadful calamity,

m'ty, all foreign trade with London was almost extinct, as no port in France, Flanders, Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships, or correspond with us; the Turks, indeed, and the Grecian Isles, to whom the plague was familiar, were not so scrupulous. The Flemings and Dutch made great advantage of this circumstance, by buying goods in those parts of England that had not received the infection, carrying them home, and then exporting them again as their own.

Scarcely were the citizens settled in their habitations after this dreadful calamity of the plague, than they experienced the most extensive and dreadful conflagration ever recorded in the annals of this country. It began at one o'clock in the morning, of the 2d of September, 1666, and over-ran three hundred and seventy-three acres of ground within the walls, and burnt thirteen thousand houses, eighty-nine parish-churches, besides chapels; and only eleven parishes within the walls were left standing. To this account may also be added the magnificent building of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom-house, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other stately edifices. Many thousands of citizens, who by this calamity were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, destitute of all necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief; happily, however, only six lives were lost. Various were the conjectures on the cause and authors of this fire, few being inclined to think it casual. Many would have it to be brought about by the malice of the republicans, while others ascribed it to the papists. But each of these suspicions seem to have had their rise in the violent animosities that possessed the minds of the different parties at that period. The prevailing opinion, however, was, that it originated in the malice and treachery of the popish faction; and accordingly that opinion

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stands recorded upon the elegant monument erected on Fish-street-hill, in memory of this dreadful calamity. The damage sustained by this terrible accident has been usually computed at upwards of ten millions sterling! So vast a loss of merchandise, treasure, plate, and household furniture, and so immense an expense for rebuilding the city, must unquestionably have proved a great obstruction for some time to the commerce of London; yet this noble city, by redoubling its diligence, in a few years recovered its pristine foreign and domestic trade; and has since so wonderfully increased in both these respects, as to have become the greatest commercial city in the universe.

In p. 53 we have seen the origin of private banking. Things went on in this manner till the year 1672, when they had jointly and severally amassed of the public's money, *one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-six pounds*, which was deposited, for safety, in the king's treasury, and from whence they were wont to receive weekly whatever sum or sums were wanted for their customers. At this time Charles II. happening to be much straightened for cash, he shut up the exchequer, and seized upon all the money, to carry on his war with Holland, as we have mentioned before. This violent measure (a species of open robbery never before nor since experienced) bankrupted the goldsmiths, and is said to have brought near ten thousand families to poverty. A general murmur ran through the nation; and the public became so clamorous, that the king, for his personal safety, was obliged to bind himself to pay the principal out of his revenue, and, till that could be effected, to allow an interest of six pounds per cent. per annum; but the principal was never paid. However, the parliament, 12 William III. cap. 12, provided for a large arrear of interest then due, and settled the interest at three per cent. for the future. The debt was hereby made redeemable, on paying one moiety of the principal

pal sum, viz. six hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds, farther confirmed by an act of Queen Anne, which moiety became the proper debt of the public, and was finally subscribed into the South-sea capital stock in the year 1720. Upon this subject, Sir William Temple, in his Miscellanies, makes the following remark: "The credit of our exchequer is irrecoverably lost, by the last breach with the bankers; for *credit is gained by custom, and seldom recovers a stain.*" Several bitter invectives against the trade of banking were now published; and many years after, when the present custom of receiving and paying money from morning till night in an open shop came first to be introduced, it was thought to be a strange sort of thing; and Sir Joshua Child, and several other authors of credit, wrote vehemently against it. The bankers were accused of being a pack of usurers; of keeping the interest of money at at least two per cent. higher than otherwise it would be, which was productive of many evils; and also, that they made money scarce amongst individuals, by surreptitiously collecting all they could into their own possession, whereby the country was drained in every part, and the subjects injured. But, upon the whole, whatever might have been the practice of bankers then, the case is now quite otherwise. The dispatch given by our modern bankers to merchants and dealers in general, is found so convenient to trade, that people are greatly accommodated by lodging cash with them, to be drawn out from time to time as they want it, without receiving or expecting any interest whatever; and the facility with which bills, notes, drafts, bonds, and real personal securities, are and may be converted into immediate money through the medium of private banks, both in London and in the country, must be acknowledged a very great public conveniency, and one of the most important aids to trade and commerce that custom or invention ever introduced.

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JAMES II. immediately on his accession, assembled the privy council; where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government both in church and state; and, as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, he would still go as far as any man in maintaining all its just rights and privileges.

This discourse was received with great applause, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. Addresses came from all quarters, full of duty, nay of the most servile adulation. From this charge, however, we must except that of the quakers, which is remarkable for its good sense and simplicity: "We are come (said they) to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told that thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England no more than we: wherefore we hope that thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself. Which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

The king, however, soon shewed, that he either was not sincere in his promises, or that he entertained so lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmost sincerity could tend very little to the security of the liberties of the people. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, which had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James without a new act for that purpose. He went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity; and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Catholic church.

James's first parliament, which was composed mostly of zealous tories, was strongly inclined to comply with the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously, that they should settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king, till the time
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of his decease. For this favour, James assured them, that he would secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but, with regard to religion, no answer could be extorted, for that he was resolved to alter. In every thing, however, religion excepted, James merited every praise. He applied himself to business with unremitting attention. He managed his revenue with the strictest economy. He retrenched superfluous expenses, and shewed himself zealous for the glory of the nation. He endeavoured to expel from court the vice which had prevailed so much during the former reign, and to restore decency and morality. He presided daily at the councils, at the boards of admiralty and treasury. He even entered into the whole detail of the concerns of the great departments of the state. But his bigotry for the Romish religion sullied all his good qualities, and rendered him feared for his violence, where he was not despised for his weakness.

But, whilst every thing was submitted in tranquillity to James at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose. For a long time the Prince of Orange had entertained hopes of ascending the British throne, and had even used all his endeavours to exclude James from it. Monmouth, who, since his last conspiracy, had been pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland. He was received by the Prince of Orange with the highest marks of distinction, and even became his chief favourite, through whom all favours were to be obtained. When the news of Charles's death arrived, indeed, the prince made a show of altering his note, and dismissed Monmouth, though he still kept a close correspondence with him. The duke retired to Brussels, where, under the auspices of the Prince of Orange, he resolved to invade England, with a design of seizing the crown for himself. He was seconded by the Duke of Argyle, who formed the scheme of an insurrection in Scotland; and, while Monmouth attempted to make a rising in the west

of England, it was resolved that Argyle should also try his endeavours in the north. The generosity of the Prince of Orange, however, did not correspond with the warmth of his professions. Monmouth derived from his own plate and jewels his whole supply for the war; and the enthusiasm of a rich widow supplied Argyle with ten thousand pounds, wherewith he purchased three vessels, which he loaded with arms and ammunition.

This nobleman, during the troubles of Scotland in 1681, had been committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh by the parliament of that kingdom; and soon after tried and found guilty of high-treason, but, by the interposition of his friends, judgment was respited. He improved this opportunity to make his escape in this manner. His daughter, the Countess of Argyle, being come to visit him in prison, he changed clothes with one of her footmen, and, when she went away, he followed behind her, holding up her train. But, being still fearful of a discovery, he purposely dropt the countess's train into the dirt; and the lady, affecting to be provoked with anger at the carelessness of her footman, bedaubed his face with her draggled tail, by which means the duke escaped undiscovered. However, the parliament passed sentence on him for high-treason, ordering the same to be put in execution whenever he should be taken; but he was never heard of from that time till his appearance as above. Argyle, first attempted to make a descent on the north of Scotland, but, being disappointed by the vigilance of the Bishop of Orkney, he landed in the west highlands, at Cample-town, or Lockhead, on the 20th of May, 1685, and pitched his first camp near Dunstaffnage, a ruinous castle of his own in the province of Lorn.

King James, who was apprehensive of an insurrection in Scotland, even before Argyle's landing, caused a proclamation to be published at Edinburgh, enjoining his subjects to assist him against such attempts. The malcontents on their part also published a declaration, setting

setting forth the reasons which obliged them to take up arms against the king; Argyle also sent letters to his friends and acquaintances, to desire their assistance. His army consisted but of about three or four thousand men. Having marched with these to the town of Rosa, in the isle of Boot, and pitched his camp there, he was soon after pursued, and almost surrounded, by the Earl of Dumbarton, general of the king's army, and several other parties commanded by several lords.

Argyle, considering that his army was too small to oppose the king's forces, marched into the province of Argyle, and having fortified the castle of Ellengreg, as well as the short time he had to do it would allow, he there secured his arms and ammunition, for he had arms with him for five thousand men. He caused his ships to anchor under the cannon of a little fort raised for that purpose; for, having quitted the castle to make inroads, one of his parties was cut off by the Marquis of Athol, with the loss of two hundred men. Captain Hamilton, at the same time arriving, with a squadron of the king's ships, seized upon those of Argyle's, and took the castle without any opposition. The rebels endeavoured to cover themselves by the rivers and marshes; but the Earl of Dumbarton, making a hasty pursuit, overtook them at the passage of Clyde; but, as it was late in the evening, deferred attacking the enemy till the next morning. In the mean time, the rebels passed the river in great haste, and dispersed, all of them, except a few whom Argyle with difficulty prevailed on to stay and guard him; but even these soon abandoned him, Dumbarton having by this time passed the river, and sent out several parties in pursuit of the fugitives. Argyle having escaped to Renfrew, Sir John Cochran offered to supply him with guides to conduct him safe to Galloway; but leading him into a boggy place, on pretence, or with intention, to bring him off from the king's army, most of those who had followed him hitherto were obliged to leave their
horses,

horses, and every one to shift for themselves. The Earl of Argyle was returning by himself towards the river Clyde, when two sturdy fellows, who belonged to Grenock, an officer in the king's army, having met him, without knowing who he was, bid him stand and surrender. He answered them with a shot and missed them, when they, who happened to be better marksmen, wounded him with a pistol's shot. Thereupon the earl, taking both his pistols, left his horse, being too tired to carry him further, and, making towards the river, began to step into the water. A peasant, who accompanied the first aggressors, followed him close with a pistol in his hand. The earl attempted to shoot him, but, missing him, the fellow knocked him down; as he fell, he cried out, "Oh! unfortunate Argyle!" This discovered him to his adversaries, who immediately took him and surrendered him to the king's officers. During the short time he lived, he was used with the utmost ignominy. He was first conducted to Glasgow, and then to Edinburgh, bareheaded; a hangman walking before him with an ax. He was hanged a few days afterwards, and his head set upon the castle of Edinburgh.

About the same time the Duke of Monmouth sailed from the Texel, with three ships, and landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire, with only fourscore followers. But it was not long before they were increased to about two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. The king was greatly surprised when he heard of his landing, as he was in hopes that his fleet, then cruising at sea, would have intercepted him. The duke took possession of the little town of Lyme, sent out several of his followers into the neighbouring countries, to cause an insurrection, and to invite the people to join with him, he also published a declaration, in behalf of himself and those who had taken up arms with him. The duke marched from Lyme to Taunton, where he was well received, and proclaimed king. He soon after marched to Bridgewater, still increasing his small army as he

moved towards Bath; the militia still flying two days march before him, to give the king time to raise more forces; such being their orders from court. Being arrived at Philip's Norton, the duke cut off by surprise, or ambush, the greatest part of a troop of horse belonging to the king's army, and the Duke of Grafton narrowly escaped being killed. This encouraged him to proceed within two miles of Bristol, where he called a council of war; in which he was advised not to enter the city, but retreat back to Bridgewater. This disheartened his party, and prevented many from joining him. It was judged a very impolitic step; for the Bristol people had not only no force, except their militia, to oppose him, but were also much inclined to his interest. And here he might have furnished himself with men, money, and arms, and have marched into Gloucestershire, where a great number of clothiers, and many of the nobility, would have joined him.

The Prince of Orange offered to come over to assist King James; but this he, through jealousy, declined. The king at this time found himself well supported by his nobility and other brave officers, who so closely beset the duke, that, seeing his men daily desert in great numbers, he resolved to hazard all at one push, and fight with unequal force, and either vanquish or die, like a brave and heroic prince. This being his resolution, he marched out of Bridgewater by night, to surprise the king's army, then encamped at Sedgmore. But his guide, mistaking the way, unhappily led him upon a detachment of Dumbarton's regiment placed in his way, who encountering him, the king's whole army was alarmed, and fell upon him. However, the fight was obstinate and dubious for a-while. For though Colonel Oglethorpe soon broke the rebel's horse, commanded by Lord Grey, who made but an indifferent resistance; yet the infantry behaved bravely, being commanded by the duke himself; who, during the whole action, supported that reputation for courage,
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which he had before gained in the world. But as the king's army was superior in number, and artillery, and good discipline, the victory was wrested from the duke, after a three-hours contest. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and one thousand in the pursuit. Monmouth fled above twenty miles from the field of battle, till his horse sunk under him. He then alighted; and, exchanging clothes with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The shepherd being found in Monmouth's clothes by the pursuers, increased the diligence of the search; and by the means of blood-hounds he was detected in his miserable situation, with raw pease in his pocket, on which he had lived for some days. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies; and petitioned, with the most abject submission, for his life. On his way to London, he wrote a submissive letter to the king, promising discoveries, should he be admitted into his presence. The curiosity of James being excited by the letter, he sent Sheldon a gentleman of the bed-chamber to meet Monmouth. In his conversation with Sheldon, he asked who was in chief confidence with the king? and, being answered that it was Sunderland, Monmouth knocked his breast in a surprise, and said, "Why then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet ME." He desired Sheldon to inform the king, that several of his accomplices in rebellion were in the confidence of his majesty; and he gave him a particular account of the part which the Prince of Orange had acted in this whole affair. Sheldon, on his return from the Duke of Monmouth, began to give an account to the king what he had learned from the unhappy prisoner. Sunderland, pretending business, came into the room. Sheldon stopped, and signified his desire to speak in private with the king. James told him he

might say any thing before that lord. Sheldon was in great perplexity; but being urged, he told all that Monmouth had asserted. Sunderland appeared for some time confused: at length he said, with a laugh, "If that is all that he can discover to save his life, he will derive little good from his information." Monmouth himself was soon after brought before the king. Sunderland by an artifice ensured the death of the unfortunate duke, to save himself and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange. When he saw Monmouth's letter to James, and heard the discoveries made by Sheldon, he is said to have advised him, that, as he could assure him of the certainty of a pardon, he ought to deny what he had said in prejudice of his friends, who could serve him on some other more favourable occasion. The credulous duke, swayed by the advice of Sunderland, suppressed what he had said to Sheldon, when he was examined by the king. He mentioned nothing of the concern which the Prince of Orange had taken in the invasion; though a point on which James was already sufficiently informed. D'Avaux, the French minister to the states, had given a circumstantial account of the whole conduct of the prince to Louis XIV. who had ordered it to be privately communicated to the King of England. The minister who had been sent from Holland to congratulate James on the suppression of Argyle's rebellion, was in a grievous agony when he heard that the king was resolved to see Monmouth. "Though he found that he had said nothing of his master (said James), he was never quiet till Monmouth was dead."

The unfortunate duke made various attempts to obtain mercy. He wrote to the queen-dowager; he sent a letter to the reigning queen, as well as to the king himself. He begged his life, when admitted into his presence, with a meanness unsuitable to his pretensions and high rank. But all his entreaties and submissions were of no avail. James told him, that he was much

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affected with his misfortunes, but that his crime was too dangerous in its example to be left unpunished. In his last moments he behaved with a magnanimity worthy of his former courage. When he came to the scaffold, he behaved with decency and even with dignity. He spoke little; he made no confession; nor did he accuse any of his friends. Circumstances are said to have attended his death that created a horror among the spectators. The executioner missed his blow, and struck him slightly on the shoulder. Monmouth raised his head from the block, and looked him full in the face, as if reproaching him for his mistake. He struck him twice again, but with feeble strokes; and then threw the axe from his hands. The sheriff forced him to renew his attempt; and the head of the duke, who seemed already dead, was at last severed from his body.

The fondness of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: they believed that one of his friends who resembled him, had consented to lose his life in public to save that of the duke. They started at every rumour of his name; and long expected, with impatience, when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause, and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by the king's order, attended the execution. When he afterwards gave an account of it to James, he said, "Your majesty has got rid of one enemy, but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sunk deep into his mind.

It would have been happy for the nation, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was already shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle of Sedgemoor. Lord Feversham, after the action, hung up, without any trial, twenty prisoners, and Colonel Kirk nineteen. The latter with a savage refinement made a sport of the murders he committed. Having
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a gallows erected at his door, it was his practice, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drunk to the health of the king, or the queen, or Judge Jefferies. When he saw the feet of the dying shake, in the last agonies of departing life, he would say, "They should have music to their dancing," and ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarters in the country, without distinction between the innocent and the guilty; and those instruments of his violence he named in derision, "His lambs." These proceedings were in the eye of the law robberies and murders; yet, in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them.

Lord Chief Justice Jefferies tried the prisoners on the western circuit. A man, cruel in his temper, brutal in his manners, and a contemner of all decency. A power was given him in his commission to command the forces of the west, so that the terrors both of the law and of the sword were united in his person. In his charge to the grand jury at Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he directed them to enquire after, "not only all principals, but all aiders and abettors, of those who had been concerned in the rebellion;" a charge which moulded the jurymen to his will, by the consideration of their personal safety, because there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends and relations in distress. He pressed the prisoners to confess, "to save himself trouble," as he expressed it. And some of those who maintained their innocence against all his menaces, and were afterwards found guilty, he ordered for execution the same day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail on the prisoners to confess by promises of pardon: when the prisoners adhered in court to their confession they were condemned to be hanged: when they retracted, these officers

officers were evidences at hand to prove their confession. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jefferies declared with a jest, "that, if any lawyer or parson came in his way, they should not escape him." The evidence against another prisoner being doubtful, the justice of peace, who had given information against him, remarked it to Jefferies, and interceded in his behalf. Jefferies answered, "You have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." When the sisters of this unhappy man hung on the wheels of the judge's coach to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip. Two women were condemned to be burnt alive, for indulging the sweetest of human virtues, compassion for the distressed; one of these was Lady Lisle, who was upwards of seventy years of age. She had given refuge to Hicks, a dissenting clergyman who had begged the protection of her house, and trusted his life in her hands. She was widow to Lord Lisle, one of the regicides, who on that account had been assassinated in Switzerland. She was taken by Colonel Penruddock, whose father had been adjudged to death by Lord Lisle, for his attachment to the royal cause. The deportment of this lady at her trial was spirited and highly pathetic. She delivered herself to the court in the following manner. "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The person whom I have received under my roof, was convicted by no sentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him? My own principles have ever been loyal, none in England shed more tears for the death of the king's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to serve the present king; but, although I could not fight for him, my son did, against the Duke of Monmouth. I sent the son to atone for the offences of the father: it was I who bred him up to fight for his

his sovereign: with my last breath I will bless that life which takes away mine." Such forcible reasoning had no weight where humanity and justice were excluded; Jefferies, in his charge to the jury, admired the justice of God which had made Penruddock the instrument of shedding blood for blood. The jury, notwithstanding, returned into court with doubts, because there was no proof of her knowing that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jefferies told them, that her receiving him, after she suspected it, was equivalent; and, when they found her guilty, he said, "If she had been my mother, I would have found the same verdict against her." Two tory peereffes applied to the king for her pardon, declaring that she had done favours to their party in their greatest extremities; but Jefferies, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promise from James not to pardon her, by assuring him that all her pretensions to loyalty were false: the only favour she could obtain was, the change of her sentence from burning to beheading. These severities of Jefferies, frightful even to those to whom he committed their execution, were imputed at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone; but other causes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign. It was then made appear, that he had exacted the sum of fifteen thousand pounds for his own use, from a Devonshire gentleman, named Prideaux, for not bringing him to trial.

The people might have been willing on this occasion to distinguish between the king and his ministers of vengeance, had not the clearest marks of his sovereign's good pleasure rewarded the perpetrator of these cruelties. Jefferies, on his return, was for these eminent services created a peer; and soon after was appointed to the dignity of a chancellor. These rigours of the western circuit raised more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation naturally brave and therefore generous. At length the king found they had rendered

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rendered him so unpopular that it became absolutely necessary to disavow them. In his Memoirs he complains, with apparent indignation, of "the strange havock made by Jefferies and Kirke in the west;" and that he attributed the unpopularity, which afterwards deprived him of the crown, to the violence and barbarity of those pretended friends of his authority. He even ascribes their severities, in some degree, to a formed design of rendering his government odious to his subjects; and from hence his friends have presumed, that no exact or impartial accounts of these cruelties had reached his ears, at least till long after they were committed.

James now began to throw off the mask, and to endeavour openly to establish popery and arbitrary power. He told the house of commons, that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many Catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all who were employed by the crown. He found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they at length acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dissolved for their tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons that could be more ready to acquiesce in the measures of the crown; but the dissolution of this parliament was generally looked upon as a sign that James never intended to call another. The parliament being dismissed, James's next step was to secure a Catholic interest in the privy council. Accordingly four Catholic lords were admitted, viz. Powis, Arundel, Belasis, and Dover. Sunderland, who saw that the only way to gain preferment was by popery, became a convert. Rochester, the treasurer, was turned out of his office, because he re-

fused to conform. Even in Ireland, where the Duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced as being a Protestant; and the Lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman-catholic, was placed in his stead. In his zeal for popery, it is said, that James stooped so low as even to attempt the conversion of Colonel Kirke: but the daring soldier told him, that he was pre-engaged; for he had promised the King of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan. At last the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to court measures. The pulpits now thundered out against popery; and it was urged, that it was more formidable from the support granted it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics; instead of avoiding the controversy, the Protestant preachers pursued it with greater warmth. To effect his designs, the king determined to revive the high commission court, which had formerly given the nation so much disgust, and which had been abolished for ever by act of parliament. An ecclesiastical commission was issued out anew, by which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England.---The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and he was taught to believe, that the truth of the Catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it; and the Catholic religion alone be allowed to predominate. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration only to the Catholics, without interceding in the least for the other dissenters who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the Protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust

trust and profit, and Catholics put in their places. These measures sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete the work, James publicly sent the Earl of Castlemaine ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion. Innocent, who then filled the chair, was too good a politician to approve those childish measures, and gave his ambassador a very cool reception. He was sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions, which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, "That the king should be excommunicated for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England."

An ecclesiastical court was erected, with power to punish all delinquents, or such so reputed by the court, with all manner of ecclesiastical censures. The Vice-chancellor of Cambridge was summoned before this court for having refused to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts; the vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, but the university persisted in their refusal, and the king thought proper to desist from his purpose. The vice-president and fellows of Magdalen college in Oxford were treated with more severity. They refused to admit one Farmer, a new convert, and one of a profligate life, who was nominated by the king to the place of president, now become vacant. The king next nominated Parker bishop of Oxford; but he was equally obnoxious for the same reasons. The king repaired in person to Oxford; he reproached the fellows with insolence and disobedience; but neither he, nor his ministers, could prevail to alter the resolutions of this society. The fellows were expelled by his order, and their places filled with Papists, who he knew would be more obedient to his commands.

His designs hitherto were sufficiently manifest; but he was now resolved entirely to throw off the mask. By his permission the pope's nuncio made his public entry into Windsor in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks in the habit of their respective orders. He next published a declaration for liberty of conscience, by which all restraints upon popery were taken away. The church of England took the alarm; the peculiar animosity of the people against the Catholic religion proceeded not less from religious than temporal motives. Seven bishops, who had received the king's express orders to cause this declaration of liberty of conscience to be read in their churches, refused to comply. They drew up a modest petition to excuse their refusal, which only served to increase the king's resentment and rage. They were cited before the council, and still adhered to their former resolution, with that firmness which is the characteristic of virtue. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for publishing sedition, and abridging the king's prerogative. They were committed to the Tower, conducted thither amidst the prayers and condolence of an incredible multitude of the populace, who regarded them as sufferers for truth. The day appointed for their trial arrived; this cause was looked upon as the crisis of English freedom; the counsel managed the debate on both sides with learning and candour; the jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night, but next morning returned into court, and declared the bishops not guilty. The verdict was received with a loud and general shout in the court, which was answered by one as general from the multitude that surrounded the court; the intelligence instantly spread, and a thousand shouts, from different parts of the town, reverberated the universal joy of the people. These acclamations were continued from village to village, until they reached the army encamped on Hounslow-heath, which was seized with

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the same sympathetic transport. The king was, at that instant, in Lord Feversham's tent, and, hearing the camp in an uproar, sent his lordship to enquire into the cause. Feversham returned, and reported, "It was nothing but the joy of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." Nothing!" said the king, "do you call that nothing? But so much the worse for them!" Immediately he set off for London, and issued a proclamation, forbidding the populace from assembling in the streets. The restraint increased their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. Some persons were tried for disorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them, though often sent back by the judges to re-consider their verdicts. Immediately after this, the king struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refused except two hundred. He sent also a mandate to the new fellows whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura. As the king found the clergymen every where averse to his measures, he was willing next to try what he could do with the army. He thought if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few Roman-catholic soldiers.

A fortunate circumstance happened about this time in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if
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any thing could at that time, have served to establish him on the throne: but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious; and so great was the monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precaution to refute the calumny.

Though the enthusiasm of James himself bordered upon madness, the most wild of his religious projects seem to have been suggested by his enemies to accomplish his ruin. The Earl of Sunderland, whom he chiefly trusted, was a man of abandoned principles, insatiable avarice, and fitted by nature for stratagem, deception, and intrigue. The love of money was his ruling passion, and he sold his influence to the highest bidder. To such a degree was he mercenary, that he became at once the pensioner of the Prince of Orange and of the King of France. The former, who had long fixed his eye on the English throne, watched James's motions, and took every advantage of his errors. He had laid his schemes so extensively, that nothing but the birth of a male heir to the crown of England could possibly prevent him from an almost immediate possession of the kingdom. This circumstance made the prospect of the Princess Mary's succession to the crown very distant and uncertain. And thus an event, which the king had so long made an object of his most ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm establishment of his throne, proved the immediate cause of his ruin and downfall. James, on the other hand, was extremely disgusted at the opposition shewn to his favourite plan of indulgence to the Catholics, and took every occasion to express his displeasure, as well against the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to dispose of their prizes. He revived some complaints of the English East India Company, with regard to a settlement in the East; he recalled the British troops which were employed

ployed in the Dutch service, and put his navy in a formidable condition. The Dutch concluded, from these hostile proceedings, that James sought only an occasion and pretence for making war upon them. William hereupon resolved to be less attentive to appearances, and assiduously to cultivate the affection of the English Protestants in general, and to unite them against the Catholics. With these views he sent over Dykvelt as his envoy to England, with instructions, besides publicly remonstrating on the conduct of affairs both at home and abroad, to apply, in his name, to every sect and denomination. This commission Dykvelt executed with so much address, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which their religion and liberty were so imminently threatened.

While other great revolutions of state have been the consequence of long intrigue, or the effects of instant revenge, the favour which the enterprize of the Prince of Orange found in England, sprung from the impulse of reason and liberty; an impulse which affected almost the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to its success. Admiral Herbert, though a man of great expence, and seemingly of little religion, threw up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of the disaffection of the seamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Russel too, cousin-german to the unfortunate lord of that name, prompted by revenge, contributed to spread discontents among the English seamen, and thus remove from the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Russel, at this important crisis, submitted to the duties of a messenger, sailing often between England and Holland, to preserve the communication between the parties of both countries. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the Earl of Sunderland, under pretence of drinking the waters of Spa, passed over to Holland,

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and conveyed the strongest assurances of an universal combination against the measures of the king. The Whigs, in conformity to their ancient principles of liberty, which had led them to attempt the exclusion-bill, easily agreed to oppose a king, whose conduct had justified whatever his worst enemies had prognosticated concerning his succession. The Tories, and the church party, finding their past services forgotten, their rights invaded, their religion threatened, agreed to drop, for the present, all overstrained doctrines of submission, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature; thereby shewing that they did not maintain the absolute unlawfulness of subjects resisting their sovereign, only they differed from others about the degree of provocation which justified resistance. Thus all party animosity was, for a time, laid asleep in England, and every one secretly joined in a scheme of resisting their unhappy and misguided sovereign. The Duke of Grafton, at this critical time, was of the most essential service to the Prince of Orange. He had asked of the king the command of the fleet in the place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refused his request; either irritated by this refusal, or inflamed by the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promise from two-thirds of the captains, that they would not oppose the Prince of Orange. It was concerted, that, as soon as the prince landed in England, his friends should disperse into the several counties, to raise insurrections, and distract the common enemy. All these persons kept the secret firm to each other.

William yielded to these earnest and respectable applications from England, and undertook the defence of a nation which looked up to him as their only deliverer. The ties of affinity, which are ever weakest in those of exalted rank, had, in this instance, many additional considerations to abate their force; the alliance was, at first, contracted against the approbation of the princess's father, and the most incongruous dissimilitude

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tude of temper, manners, sentiments, principles, and pursuits, had contributed, for several years, to estrange these kindred princes from each other; besides, the merit of delivering a great nation from the yoke of a tyrant, was sufficient to wipe off any reproach which might be cast upon the Prince of Orange, for having violated a decorum of private life; and was sufficient, in the eyes of reasonable men, to make ample compensation. This prince, born to be the scourge of tyrants, and the illustrious dispenser of liberty to mankind, had already rescued his native country from the ruin which awaited it: he was equally successful in establishing constitutional liberty in the British isles; and employed the latter years of his life in supporting the general independency of Europe. He may therefore be said to have contributed more to the general interests of society and mankind, perhaps than any other person which history furnishes an account of.

This able statesman was as swift to execute as he was slow to resolve. When he had determined on an expedition into England, he began his preparations very early in the year 1688, designing to embark the ensuing winter, as in that season France would not be able to attack Holland, whilst the stadtholder was absent. The first six months were spent in procuring money, providing armaments at home, and forming alliances with neighbouring states, for the security of the Dutch frontiers. These steps indicated nothing more than providing for the security of the united states. With great secrecy and address he applied large sums of money, which had been raised for other purposes, and which the great influx of specie occasioned by the resort of French refugees to Holland had contributed to increase, to the use of this expedition. But the finest stroke of the prince's policy was his art in deluding the pope Innocent XI. for, taking advantage of that pontiff's animosity against France, he persuaded him into a belief, that the emperor meant to send a large

army to the Rhine, which was to be joined by one equally great from Holland; and that the Prince of Orange himself was to penetrate, at the head of this confederated force, into France. For the furtherance of this design, the pope remitted considerable sums to the emperor, which, thus obtained from the head of the Roman catholic world, were employed in dethroning a Roman catholic king.

He prevailed on the states to equip forty ships of war against the Algerines, and secretly added twelve to them by his own authority. Some time before he had made a more important attempt, by a demand on the King of England to send twenty English ships of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the same service, by virtue of an old treaty which then subsisted between the two states; but this requisition James did not think fit to comply with. The ships were no sooner made ready for sea in the ports of Holland, than they were sent out to different stations remote from England, with orders to remain there for some time, and then to return; a stratagem which concealed equally the greatness of the armament, and its destination. Under colour of protecting the electorate of Cologne, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the sea in a few days. Whilst he pretended to adjust the confederacy against France, the prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards Duke of Portland, conferred personally with the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the princes of the house of Lunenburgh, other German princes, and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans should replace, with their own troops upon the Rhine, those which the prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spanish forces should protect the Dutch frontier on the side of the Netherlands, and garrison their towns. Seven thousand Swedes were hired to be transported into Holland. During these transactions

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the Elector of Brandenburg died, but with his last breath recommended the projected undertaking to his son. Bentinck was sent to found the new elector, and found him more attached to the cause than even his father had been. The design was intrusted only to those personages, or their ministers, and to five Dutchmen, All these kept the secret as profoundly as the English malcontents had done, who saw their ruin in a discovery. The King of England believed the preparations in Holland were intended against France: the King of France sometimes thought they were destined to act against Denmark, and at other times against the liberties of the prince's own country. As the autumn advanced, these warlike preparations became more rapid and more open; yet, even during this period, every art was contrived to mislead and perplex observers. Vessels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and by private merchants; these were continually shifting their stations. Arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and sent up towards Nimeguen. Some of those boats landed their contents and returned; these cargoes were secretly brought back in vessels which had been sent up empty under other pretences; others deposited their freight among the islands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maese; and others were conveyed down to the sea by various routes.

All the prince's artifices could not however entirely conceal his designs from the French court; for Louis, suspecting them, sent intelligence to James, and, at the same time, offered to join the English fleet with a squadron of French ships, and to send over any number of troops James should think necessary for his security. But the king, not sensible of his own danger, rejected all his proposals. Fully persuaded of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made a deep impression on his subjects; and, notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent which every where broke out, rebellion appeared incredible. Yet

experience ought to have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For, the year before, Admiral Strickland, who was a papist, having directed the priests to say mass on-board his ship, the seamen rose in a mutiny, and insisted on throwing the priests over-board. Strickland proceeded to severity: the severity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ship to ship. The king was obliged to repair to Portsmouth to pacify the seamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends, for it was impossible to satisfy them till the priests were removed from all the ships. The king now found the disposition of the army not more favourable to him: he resolved to augment his forces with Irish troops, and to begin with the regiment of the Duke of Berwick, his natural son; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refused to admit them; and five captains steadily adhered to him: upon which they were all cashiered; and had not the discontents of the army, on this occasion, been very apparent, it was resolved to punish those officers for mutiny.

At length, on the 23d of September, the king received a letter from the Marquis of Abbeville, his minister at the Hague, which contained certain information of the intended invasion. He instantly turned pale, and stood motionless; the letter dropped from his hand; his eyes were open, and he found himself on the brink of a precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. He now suddenly retracted those fatal measures by which he had created to himself so many enemies. He replaced, in all the counties, the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws: he restored the charters of all the corporations; annulled the court of ecclesiastical commissions, and abrogated its oppressive decisions. In his present distress he laid aside his former haughtiness, and deigned to care for those bishops whom he had

so lately prosecuted and imprisoned : but all these measures were considered as symptoms of fear, and not of repentance.

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange published his declaration, and caused it to be dispersed throughout England. It enumerated all the grievances of the nation ; the dispensing and suspending power ; the court of ecclesiastical commission ; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and raising a jesuit to be privy-counsellor ; the open encouragement given to popery, by building churches, colleges, and seminaries, for that sect ; displacing the judges who refused to pass sentence according to orders received from court ; the annulling the charters of all corporations ; the treating of the most modest petitions, even from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious ; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists ; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland ; and the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. The Prince of Orange declared, that his sole aim in coming to England, was to redress these grievances, and protect the people from the king's evil counsellors, by their having a free and legal parliament, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation ; adding, that no one could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other design than to procure the full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property ; and that, though the English ministers, terrified by this enterprise, had pretended to redress some of the above grievances, there still remained an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown, by which those grievances might be instantly restored ; for which there could be no other remedy but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subject in a free parliament. Besides this declaration, there was published a letter from the prince to the army ; another from Herbert to the seamen ;
and

and a tract directed to the people, composed by Bishop Burnet, in defence of the lawfulness of the prince's undertaking.

The Prince of Orange sailed from Helvoetsluice with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men, the 21st of October, 1688. The first night they were at sea, a furious tempest attacked them, the horror of which was augmented by the darkness of the season; the largeness of the fleet greatly encreased the danger, and the terrors of the landmen, the number of horses, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put hastily on-board, and ill fastened, added equally to the distraction and the danger. In two hours the whole fleet was dispersed, so that in the morning scarcely two ships could be seen together. As reports are always increased by distance, it was believed in England that the whole armament was lost. James received the news at dinner, and cried out, "It is not to be wondered at, for the host has been exposed these several days!" The fleet however presently re-assembled, without having sustained any material damage, and proceeded again to sea. In compliment to England, Herbert led the van; Evertzen, a Dutch admiral, brought up the rear; the Prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himself in the centre, his ship carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, with this motto: "I will maintain the Protestant religion, and the liberties of England."

The fleet made sail again with a fair wind on the first of November. At first it steered to the northward, in order to mislead the advice-boats which lay to observe it, by making them suppose, that he meant to land in the north of England. This stratagem succeeded; these flying vessels carried the report to England, and James, in consequence thereof, directed a considerable part of his army to march to the north. As soon as night came on, and the course of the fleet could be no longer observed, the prince tacked about,

and put his whole force before the wind to the westward. On the second morning after he sailed, his fleet was discovered stretching towards the channel, with all the sail it could spread. His ships formed a line of twenty miles in extent; so that, while the rear was in a manner close at hand, the van could scarcely be discerned. During seven hours, this huge body continued passing in the view of both shores, which were covered with innumerable spectators, who stood gazing with admiration, mixed with terror, upon a spectacle at once so pleasing and delightful; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations, according to the different religions, or interests, or passions, of the nations, before whom it passed. When the fleet approached the coast of England, the prince changed his ship, and sailed at the head of all, to be the foremost in danger; displaying his own standard, in order to make himself more conspicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day he lay by in the straits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet should come up; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in so narrow a sea, and, by that means, to conquer first the imagination of those whom he was invading; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the English fleet which lay behind him at the gun-fleet. In this council it was resolved to change the disposition of the fleet, and that the prince, with the transports, and three ships of war to guard him, should sail down the channel in the van, while all the other ships of war should remain in the rear, to engage the English, in case they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up in one body, of about sixteen ships deep, which stretched from coast to coast, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the straits. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike instruments again sounded, the vessels saluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited

hibited in the sight of the people, who were assembled on the coasts of both kingdoms. But the same strong east wind which carried the prince triumphantly through the channel, prevented the English fleet from coming out: for the ships rode at their station, with their yards and top-masts down, unable to purchase their anchors, and saw part of the Dutch fleet pass within their sight. These circumstances were favourable to the English fleet; for though the Earl of Dartmouth, who commanded it, was not suspected of betraying the prince whom he served; yet he knew that some of his captains had engaged not to fight against the Prince of Orange, and that others were irresolute what to do; he had however resolved to render the contrast conspicuous between their conduct and his own.

Before the fleet of Holland reached the place of its destination, the English fleet was under sail; but a sudden change of wind to the southward, waisted the Prince of Orange into Torbay, the place at which he had proposed to land, whilst it drove Lord Dartmouth's fleet back to its former station. Even the firmest minds, in great situations, are apt to regard omens: the prince was anxious to land on the fourth of November, because it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage; but the English rejoiced that the landing could not be effected until the next day, which, being the anniversary of the gunpowder treason, they imagined would again prove a lucky day to the Protestant cause. As soon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expressing their gratitude by prayers to that Providence, which they believed had interposed in their favour.

When the Prince of Orange first landed in England, he found the country very backward to repair to his standard, such terrors had the severities of Jefferies, and the royal army, spread far and wide. Slight repulses were not sufficient to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, encountered adversity: he continued

tinued ten days in expectation of being joined by some or other of those malcontents that had invited him over, but in vain; he then began to deliberate about re-embarking his forces, and he is said, in a fit of peevishness at his disappointment, to have publickly declared his intentions to depart immediately, and to leave the people of England and their king to settle their differences by themselves. However, before he had taken any steps for a return, several persons of consequence joined him; whereupon the country people flocked to his standard: every day brought him a considerable accession of strength. The nobility, which had composed the court and council of King James, now left their former master, to solicit protection from a new power. The Prince of Orange observed however, with emphasis, to the first considerable body of gentry who waited upon him, "that he had come upon *their* invitation, and had expected them *sooner*."

At length every part of the kingdom caught the same spirit. The Earl of Danby seized York; Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the Earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause. In the mean time a petition for a free parliament, signed by twenty-four bishops and peers, was presented to the king, and no one thought of opposing or resisting the invader. The officers of the army seemed all disposed to prefer the interest of their religion and their country to their fidelity to a prince who had violated his engagements to both. Lord Colchester was the first who deserted, with a few of his troops, to the prince. Lord Lovelace made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the Duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and brought a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters; and Fe-

verham, the general, was told by several officers, that their conscience would not allow them to fight against the Prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, who will soon make a very conspicuous figure in this history, who had been raised from the rank of a page, invested with a high command in the army, and created a peer by James, thought his obligations to his religion and his country superior to those he owed to his king; and carried with him to the prince, the Duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, Colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. The letter which Churchill wrote the king upon that occasion is as follows:

“SIRE, Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and tho’ my dutiful behaviour to your majesty, in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much over-paid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations imaginable to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which, I am instructed, nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty’s true interest and the Protestant religion. But, as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence, by conquest, to bring them to effect, so will I always, with the hazard of my life and fortune,

fortune, (so much your majesty's due,) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes your majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant, CHURCHILL."---The Prince of Orange, who was an excellent judge of merit, immediately promoted his lordship to the rank of a lieutenant-general, and shewed him every other mark of countenance and favour.

James had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received the news of Lord Churchill having gone over to the prince, which gave him the most sensible concern. There were none in whom he could confide; and, as the whole army discovered symptoms of discontent, he suddenly marched with them towards London; but stopping at Andover, the first stage of his retreat, Prince George, together with the young Duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewett, and other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night, and hastened to the Prince of Orange's camp. This news no sooner reached London, than the Princess Anne withdrew herself, in company with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchill, and retired to Nottingham, where she was received with great respect by the Earl of Dorset, and the gentry of the county formed a troop for her guard.

The princesses had been educated in the Protestant religion, by the order of the late king; and James no sooner heard of his being deserted by his daughter Anne, than he burst into tears, and cried, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" Unable to resist the torrent which prevailed against him, he seemed as much depressed by his adversity as he had been vainly elated by his prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners, to treat with the Prince of

Orange. At the same time addressing himself to the Earl of Bedford; "You, my lord, said he, are an honest man; have great credit, and can do me signal service." "Sir, said the earl, with a sigh, I am a feeble old man; but I had son, who, if he had been now alive, could have served your majesty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the great Lord Ruffel, whom James had caused to be unjustly executed in the last reign. At this the king was so struck, that he could not answer a word.

The queen, seeing every thing in confusion, was filled with terror; the popish courtiers, and, above all, the priests, dreading that they should be the first sacrifice, resolved to leave the kingdom, and were desirous of carrying the king along with them. The general defection of the Protestants made the king regard the Catholics as the only subjects on whose advice he could rely. The news he received from all quarters filled him with continual alarms; and, impelled by his own fears, and those of others, he precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; but first sent off the queen, and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself disappeared in the night, on the 12th of December, attended only by Sir Edward Hale, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. This measure, which was the most grateful to his enemies, he performed with the utmost privacy, and nothing could equal the surprize with which the court and the city were seized, at the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, he had not appointed any one to exercise any part of the administration in his absence; he had recalled all the writs which had been issued for the election of a new parliament; and, as he was sailing down the Thames, threw the great seal into the river.

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The government being thus dissolved, the populace rose in a tumult, and not only destroyed all the mass-houses, but rifled the houses of the Spanish ambassador and Florentine envoy, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, had disguised himself in a waterman's habit, in order to pass out of the kingdom; but, being discovered by the populace, he felt that merciless treatment which he had been wont to inflict on others. He was carried in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the lord-mayor, where that countenance was exposed ignominiously, which was wont to strike terror on all who beheld it. Jefferies having been, with difficulty, rescued from the violence of those who surrounded him, was committed to the Tower, more for protection than for punishment, where he died of a disease contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult.

The Prince of Orange was active in improving the national ferment to the most beneficial purposes; neither did he hesitate to assume an authority which the present exigency had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity attending his cause, a new incident made his approach to London still more welcome. In the general consternation which had seized the people, a rumour was spread, either by chance or design, that the disbanded Irish in the king's army had taken arms, and begun a massacre of the Protestants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible easily find credit: none enquired into the truth of the massacre; all supposed it to be true: the panic shot through the kingdom like an electric shock. In the city the report was said to have been brought from the country; in the country it was said to have come from the city. The alarm-bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they saw, at a distance, the smoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in the neighbourhood. The people in every village, and in every

every town, ran to arms ; the whole kingdom exhibited a scene of consternation and horror ; and in London the shops were shut, and the doors of most houses barricadoed. It is surprizing that the Catholics were not all sacrificed in the rage which naturally succeeds to such popular panics.

In the midst of this general anarchy, some of the peers, together with many of the bishops who happened to be in London, assumed the reins of government. This body, which was composed of about thirty, formed themselves into a regular council, fixed a council-room, appointed Lord Halifax for their president, and exercised all powers of prerogative. They directed the magistrates of London to raise the militia ; issued orders to the fleet, to the king's disbanded army, and to all the considerable garrisons in England ; and they published a declaration, in which they censured the king for his flight, and resolved to apply to the prince for protection from the dangers of popery and slavery. Their orders were every where obeyed : from the highest appearance of disorder, all things, in a few days, subsided into composure and subordination.

While the prince was marching leisurely towards London, news arrived, that the king had been seized by some fishermen at Feversham, as he was making his escape in disguise ; and had been abused by the mob till he was known ; but that the gentry had interposed and protected him, yet refused to consent to his escape. This news being delivered to the council while they were sitting, they ordered Lord Feversham, with two hundred of the king's life-guards, and his coaches, to attend him ; and to leave it to himself either to retire abroad, or to return. He chose to return to London ; but the Prince of Orange sent a message to him, desiring him to advance no nearer the capital than Rochester. The messenger missed James by the way. The king sent Feversham with a letter to the Prince of Orange, requesting his presence in London

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to settle the nation. He himself proceeded to that place, and arrived on the sixteenth of December. Never prince returning with victory to his capital was received with louder acclamations of joy. All the streets were covered with bonfires. The bells were rung, and the air was rent with repeated shouts of gladness. All orders of men crowded to his coach; and, when he arrived at Whitehall, his apartments were crowded with people who came to express their joy at his return.

The Prince of Orange received the news of his return with an haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to force him by threats and severities to relinquish the throne. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and to displace the English. The king was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Dukes of Lauderdale's. He desired, however, permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast, and opposite to France. This was readily granted: and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that the king meditated an escape to France.

The king, surrounded by the Dutch guards, arrived at Rochester on the nineteenth of December. The restraint put upon his person, and the manner in which he had been forced from London, raised the indignation of many, and the compassion of all. The English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur; and, had it not been for the timidity and precipitation of James himself, the nation had certainly returned to their allegiance. He remained three nights at Rochester, in the midst of a few faithful friends. The Earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Ailesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, were there, and, with other officers of merit, the gallant Lord Dundee. They argued against his flight with united efforts. Several bishops, some peers, and many officers, intreated his stay in some part of England.

land. Message followed message from London. They represented that the opinions of men began to change, and that events would daily rise in favour of his authority. Dundee added his native ardour to his advice. "The question, sir, (said he), is, Whether you shall stay in England, or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a king. Summon your subjects to their allegiance. Your army, though disbanded, is not dispersed. Give me your commission. I will gather ten thousand of your troops. I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." The king replied, "that he believed it might be done; but that it would raise a civil war, and he would not do so much mischief to a nation that would so soon come to their senses again." Middleton urged his stay, though in the remotest part of the kingdom. "Your majesty (said he) may throw things into confusion by your departure; but it will be but the anarchy of a month: a new government will soon be settled, and you and your family will be ruined." These spirited remonstrances had no effect upon James. He resolved to quit the kingdom; and, having communicated his design to a few of his friends, he passed at midnight through the back-door of the house where he lodged, and with his son the Duke of Berwick, and Biddulph one of his servants, went in a boat to a smack which lay waiting for him without the fort of Sheerness. By reason of a hard gale they were forced to bear up toward Leigh, and to anchor on the Essex side, under the lee of the land. When the gale slackened, they reached the Buoy of the Narrows without tacking; but, not being able to weather the Goodwin, they were forced to sail through the Downs. Seven ships lay there at anchor; but the smack passed unquestioned along. Unable to fetch Calais,

Calais, she bore away for Boulogne, and anchored before Ambleteuse. The king landed at three o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, December 25th; and, taking post, soon joined his queen at St. Germain's.

James having thus abandoned his dominions, the Prince of Orange remained master of them of course. By the advice of the house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sat in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles II. and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London; and the prince, being thus supported by an assembly deriving its authority from himself, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England to call a new parliament.

The house being met, which was mostly composed of the Whig party, thanks were given to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance he had brought them: after which they proceeded to settle the kingdom. A vote soon passed both houses, that King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and his people, and having by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant.

The king being thus deposed, it was easy for William to get himself appointed as his successor. Proposals were made for electing a regent. Others were for investing the Princess of Orange with regal power, and declaring the young prince supposititious. To these proposals, however, William opposed the following decisive argument, viz. that "he had been called over to defend the liberties of the British nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had

heard of several schemes proposed for the establishing of the government; that, if they chose a regent, he thought it incumbent upon him to inform them that he would not be that regent; that he would not accept of the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that therefore, if either of these schemes was adopted, he could give them no assistance in the settlement of the nation; but would return home to his own country, satisfied with his aims to secure the freedom of theirs." Upon this, after a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the Prince and Princess of Orange should reign jointly as King and Queen of England; while the administration of government should be placed in the hands of the prince only. The Marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer; and that very day, February 13, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

Thus ended the reign of the Stuarts, at least in the male line; and, though James will afterwards appear upon the scene as the disturber of William's peace, yet we shall here consider him as politically dead, and shall accordingly sum up his character in a few words: James II. was a prince in whom some good qualities were rendered ineffectual by mistaken notions of the prerogative, excessive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible severity of temper. He was brave, steady, resolute, diligent, upright, and sincere, except when warped by religious considerations; yet, even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and, though he approved himself an obedient and dutiful subject, he certainly became one of the most intolerable sovereigns that ever reigned over a free people.

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The revenue of James II. had been raised by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and his income, as Duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year. The national debt, at the revolution, amounted to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds.

During the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, the navy was suffered to fall decay; but James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory, and, before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys is still regarded as a model for order and economy. The commerce and riches of England had never during any period increased so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and, after Charles had made a separate peace with the states, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with was from a few French privateers, who infested the channel; and Charles did not interpose in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirit and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlements of Pennsylvania and Carolina extended the English empire in America. The persecution of the dissenters contributed to augment and people these colonies. But King James, soon after he came to the crown, revoked the charters which had been granted to the American settlements, and by which their liberties were secured; and sent over governors invested with absolute powers. The arbitrary principles of that monarch, says Mr. Hume, "appear in every part of his administration."

Dr. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England more than doubled during the twenty-eight years that

passed between the restoration and the revolution. The increase of coinage during the two last reigns was ten millions two hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670, and the Earl of Sandwich was made president. Charles revived and supported the charter of the East-India company, but how far the nation was benefited by this measure, or whether it was benefited at all, is a matter concerning which political reasoners are not agreed.

Sir Joshua Child asserts, that in 1688 there were more men worth ten thousand pounds on the 'Change than in the year 1650 were worth one thousand pounds; that five hundred pounds for a daughter's portion was in the earlier period deemed a larger portion than two thousand pounds in the latter one. That gentlewomen in the more remote time thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid in 1688 would not have appeared in; he adds, that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented an hundred fold.

Until the time of the revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and that during a very short period. The star-chamber, while that court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. History furnishes abundant instances of the severity of that court against those who presumed to write on political subjects; it fixed the number of printers and printing-presses, and appointed a licenser, without whose approbation no book could be published; and as this tribunal decided matters by its own single authority, without the intervention of a jury, it was always ready to find those persons guilty, whom the king, or his ministers, were pleased to look upon as such. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1641, the long parliament, whose conduct and assumed power were little better qualified to bear a scrutiny, revived the regulations against the freedom of the press; and
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this authority was continued during all the periods of the republic and protectorship. Charles II. and after him James II. procured farther renewals of these restrictions. The latter acts having expired in 1692, were, although at an æra posterior to the revolution, continued for two years longer, so that it was not till the year 1694 that, in consequence of the parliament refusing to continue the prohibitions any longer, the freedom of the press was finally established. The important privilege which was thereby granted to the people was much disrelished by the king and his ministers, who seeing no where, in any government which then subsisted, or which had existed in past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought, that no publications would ever so much improve the general understanding of men as to render it safe to entrust them with an indulgence so easily abused. Hereby the people are allowed openly to canvass and arraign the conduct of those who are invested with any branch of public authority; and thereby is delivered into the hands of the people at large the exercise of the censorial power. So that every subject in England has not only a right to present petitions to the king, or the houses of parliament, but he has a right also to lay his complaints and observations before the public by means of an open press. A formidable right this to those that rule mankind, and which continually dispelling the cloud of majesty by which they are surrounded, brings them to a level with the rest of the people, and strikes at the very being of their authority.

The characters of the monarchs of the race of Stuart is not very high in history, but they have better statues to their memories than the sovereigns of any other house. That of Charles I. at Charing-cross, is unquestionably the first equestrian statue in the metropolis; and that of James II. behind Whitehall, though seldom seen, is indisputably superior to any we have

have had before or since. The air and attitude are peculiarly fine; the manner free and easy; the expression inimitable: it displays the very soul of that ill-judging and ill-fated prince, and is therefore as valuable as if it commemorated an hero. Added to all this, the execution is in a perfect high finished and eminently spirited stile.

Of the Fall of the feudal Establishment, and the Introduction of a standing Army.

WE have already described the nature and efficacy of the feudal system, and the advantages derived from its principles, in page 249, to p. 268, of the first volume of this work; and we have there seen, that the preservation of civil liberty, and the perfection of military discipline, were the grand objects of the feudal association, and directed all its views, until the introduction of the *coterelli*, and other mercenaries, corrupted the manners and disposition of the army, and was of the utmost violence to its nature. It offended infinitely the barons and the military tenants, that they should be called to mingle with persons so ignoble. Yet the princes of Europe, finding the advantages of troops whom they could command to their purposes, and march at their will, were disposed to encourage them. They perceived, that they could possess no power without mercenaries; and no mercenaries were to be had without money. Hence the passion for wealth, and hence the ruinous projects to acquire it; which in the end served to destroy altogether the purposes of knight-service. They gave a mortal stab to the feudal militia. The feudal association became foul with disgusts, oppressions, and disorders. Time, and the devices of art, augmented the general confusion. The barons and tenants *in capite* by knight-service, when summoned to take arms, disputed the number of their fees, and the knights they should furnish. The

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tenants by escuage made proffers of the half or the third of the payments to which they were bound. The constables and the marshals of armies were ill qualified to decide concerning matters, so delicate in their own nature, and in which an impropriety of conduct might be a prejudice to their sovereigns. Doubts arose, not only about the fees or the knights of estates, but about the tenure by which they were held. The clergy were forward to invent and to encourage frauds. They taught the laity to convey to them their feudal possessions, and to receive them back as property. The fees in their own enjoyment they affected to hold in frankalmoigne, or by a tenure that gave no service but prayers. The subdivisions of knight-fees created perplexities that were intricate in no common degree. Fines or payments were often demanded, not only for the fractions which were members of the fee, but for fractions which were not members. The consultation of rolls and records, inquisitions by jurors, and the examination of witnesses or evidence, required a length of time, and a trial of patience, and were not always satisfactory. The sovereign, in the mean time, was in haste to march against an enemy. And he felt his weakness in the diminished ranks of his army, in the abstractions of his revenues, in the turbulent service of the great vassals who obeyed his summons, in the coldness of those who acted as substitutes, in the total want of discipline and of military knowledge in inferior orders, and in the limited time which the troops were to remain in the field. To all these causes, the rise of commerce is to be added. Its various pursuits, and its endless occupations, were to actuate the middle and the lowest classes of men, and to give the killing blow to a system, of which the ruins and decline have an interest and importance that bring back to the memory its magnificence and grandeur. All the splendour and advantages of the antient chivalry could not uphold the feudal militia. The dubbed knight, or the knight

knight of honour, now fell with the mere military tenant, or the knight of tenure. Chivalry began to decay as well as knight-service. When they ceased to give a mutual aid and support, they were soon to operate in a contrary direction, and to promote the decline of each other.

In the order of dubbed knights, there were necessarily a multitude of warriors, whose military renown had chiefly entitled them to the investiture of arms, and whose accomplishments were greater than their fortunes. Their knowledge in war, and the rank to which they were advanced by the ceremonial of knighthood, gave them the capacity of acting in all stations. Their poverty, splendid but inconvenient, made them attach themselves, in a more particular manner, to princes and nobles. From these they received pensions, and, in the households of these, they enjoyed and sustained honours and offices. Men of rank were also to vie with one another in their numbers and attachment. They became a part of the garniture, the magnificence, and the pride, of nobility.

There were thus, in the declension of the feudal army, a society of men, who could supply the personal service and attendance of the luxurious and the great. A substitution of knights, in the place of the barons and vassals of the crown, thence prevailed very generally. And, while knights were, in this manner, to wound deeply the military discipline and arrangements, they were to throw a contempt on knighthood by their numbers and venality. The change of manners, and the uses of wealth, had tarnished the lustre and the glories of the antient chivalry.

In the state of its degradation, the long and hard apprenticeship to arms which, of old, had prepared the candidate for the struggles and the cares of knighthood, was forgotten. The possession of a portion of land was sufficient to give a title to this dignity; it was annexed to a knight's fee. The unaccomplished proprietor

priotor of a few acres was now adorned with the sword, and admitted to the ceremonies of knighthood. But he could not hold its honours. They had passed away for ever. The order, which had ennobled kings, and greatness, supreme power, and the loftiest acquirements, grew to be mean and trivial.

The aspiring and the meritorious who, of old, courted and expected knighthood, with the most passionate ardour and the fondest hope, now avoided it with anxiety, and received it with disgust. An happy exertion of prerogative added to its humiliation. Princes, to uphold their armies, issued frequent proclamations, which required all the military tenants of the crown to appear before them on a certain day, and to be girt with the belt of knighthood. Having ceased to be an object of choice, it was to be made a subject of compulsion. A single knight's fee held of the crown, being deemed an ample enough fortune to entitle to knighthood, its possessor, if unwilling to accept this dignity, was compelled to receive it. Senility, irrecoverable weakness, and loss of limbs, were the only excuses to be admitted for his refusal. If he had not these reasons to plead, and neglected to take the honour of knighthood, his estate was distrained by the officers of the revenue. Men were to buy, as a privilege, a respite and an exemption from knighthood; and princes, when they could not recover their armies, were thus to fill their exchequers.

In a condition, not merely of meanness, but of disgrace and calamity, the antient chivalry could no longer exist. It was worn out to extremity; and the military and regular establishments to which the defects of the feudal arrangements pointed so strongly, were to supersede its uses and advantages. It did not die, as so many writers have fancied, of the ridicule of Cervantes, but of old age, despondence, and debility.

This disastrous state of chivalry and of fiefs, by disuniting the interests of the lord and the vassal, gave rise

to many oppressions and grievances. These produced a proneness to venality and corruption. All ranks of men, from the sovereign to the slave, seemed at variance. Rapacity and insolence characterised the superior and the master; chicane and disaffection, the vassal and the servant. A relaxation of morals, total and violent, prevailed. Chivalry losing its renown, the purity of the knightly virtues was tarnished. When it fell as a military establishment, its generous manners were not to remain in vigour. The women were to lose their value and their pride. The propensity to vice fostered by a political disorder, and the passion for gallantry driven to extremity by the romantic admiration which had been paid to the sex, engendered a voluptuousness and a luxury which, in the circle of human affairs, usually distinguish and hasten the decline and the fall of nations.

Manners, too stately and pure for humanity, are not to flourish long. In the ruined states of fiefs and chivalry, there prevailed not, in the one sex, the scrupulous honour, the punctilious behaviour, and the distant adoration of beauty, which had illustrated the æra of their greatness; nor, in the other, were there to be remarked, the cold and unconquerable chastity, the majestic air, and the ceremonious dignity, which had lifted them above nature. A gallantry less magnificent, and more tender, took place. The fastidiousness and delicacies of former ages wore away. The women ceased to be idols of worship, and became objects of love. In an unreserved intercourse, their attractions were more alluring. The times, prone to corruption, were not to resist their vivacity, their graces, their passion to please. Love seemed to become the sole business of life. The ingenious and the sentimental found a lasting interest and a bewitching occupation in the assiduities, anxieties, and the tenderness, of intrigue. The coarse and intemperate, indulging their indolence and

appetite, fought the haunts, and threw themselves into the arms, of prostituted beauty.

The talents which, of old, recorded the deeds of valour, and the achievements of war, were now devoted to the fair. In every country of Europe, the poet consecrated to them his homage and his songs. And, to the fashion of gallantry, the rise of literature is to be ascribed. Men of genius, and men who fancied they possessed it, resorted to the courts of princes, and to the palaces of the noble; and the praise, which they knew how to lavish, got them attention and patronage. To make verses was the road to preferment. No lady was without her poet. Nor was poetry the exercise only of those who wished to better their fortunes. While it gave riches and respect to the obscure, by the connections it gained to them, it was an ornament and an honour to the great. Princes and barons, as well as knights and gentlemen, found it the surest recommendation to their mistresses. They sung their charms, their disdain, and their rigours. Even the artificial tenderness of the poet often grew into reality; and the fair one, who, at first, only listened to praise, at length yielded to passion. The adulation paid to beauty disposed it to approve; complaints led to pity; pity to love. The enchantment of perpetual flatteries, of prostrations respectful and passionate, of vows repeated with ardour, of sighs ever meant to allure, corrupted a sex, of which the sensibilities are so exquisite. The rite of marriage, formerly so sanctimonious, was only courted to be abused. The pride of condition, more powerful than modesty, was, indeed, a check to the virgin; but she was to wait reluctantly the moment, when her coyness and timidities, instead of rebuking the passions, were to be a zest to them. All the fopperies of fancy were exhibited, all the labyrinths of love were explored. A licentiousness, which knew no restraint from principle, was rendered more sedu-

cing by the decorums and decorations of a fantastic gallantry.

Religion, which must ever mix in human affairs, is oftener used to debase than to enlighten. It is too often a mass of superstitions, which encourage the weaknesses of mankind. This was the case with Christianity in the darkness of the middle times. The votaries of beauty did not scruple to address the Deity to soften its obstinacy. In the heat of intrigue they invoked the Trinity and the saints for success. Religion was employed to give a poignancy to the disorders of prostitution and lust. The rich had houses of debauch in the form of monasteries, consisting of many cells or apartments, and under the government of abbesses. The profaneness of gallantry disturbed and deformed even the meditations of the most pious. The devotee was to seek a mistress in heaven. He was to look up to the virgin with the eyes of a lover, and to contemplate the beauties of her person, and the graces of her carriage. What is more extravagant, the felicities of futurity seemed a trifle unworthy of acceptance, without the contracts and the vanities of an irreverent courtesy. "I would not," said a poet, "be in Paradise, but on the condition of making love to her whom I adore."

The vices and examples of the clergy added to the general contagion. They were emulous to exceed not only in superb living, and in the luxuries of the table, but in the pastimes and the gratifications of illicit love. It was in vain that laws were made to prohibit them from entertaining in their houses "any virgins dedicated to God." The arts of the popes to tear them from their women would fill volumes. No ecclesiastic was without his concubines. The sins of the saint were gross and comfortable. In contempt of all decency, they even educated publicly the fruits of their amours. Rampant and dissolute, they preached religion, and were a disgrace to it; virtue, and they were

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in haste to condemn it; another world and they were immersed in the enjoyments of the present.

An universal corruption diffused itself. To be deep in debauch, and successful with the ladies, were certain marks of worth. They were parts of the eminence to which the deserving seemed to aspire. To be amorous and deceitful, were not less meritorious than to be brave and witty. There was exhibited a strange picture of fierceness and effeminacy, oppression and politeness, impiety and devotion.

The age, in which so many armies, inflamed with zeal, were to fight for the recovery and possession of the holy sepulchre, was remarkable for the most criminal depravity. The pilgrims and crusaders exported the vices of Europe, and imported those of Asia. Saint Louis, during his pious and memorable expedition, could not prevent the most open licentiousness and disorder. He found houses of prostitution at the doors of his tent. His character, his example, and his precautions, were restraints ineffectual and fruitless.

While the ladies of rank were to be besieged in form, to be pursued in all the windings of affectation and caprice, and to oppose to their impatient lovers all the obstacles of a delicacy pretended or real, the women of inferior condition were approached with familiarity. It even appears to have been common for husbands to make a traffic of the chastity of their wives, though severe regulations were enacted to repress this practice. The offices of the laundress and the milliner being yet no particular professions, there were in the habitations and palaces of the rich, apartments for women, who, while they performed the services peculiar to these, were also debauched to impunity, and subservient to lust. Jurisdiction, being yet ambulatory, and kings making frequent progresses through their dominions, it was usual for prostitutes to follow the court; and officers were appointed to keep them in subjection and order.

order. To be *marshal of the king's whores* in particular places and districts, was an honour and a dignity.

To this degeneracy and profaneness, I am inclined to trace the law, which, in the declining condition of fiefs, made it a forfeiture of the estate, for the vassal to debauch the sister, the daughter, or the wife, of his superior.

In the greater towns, there were women who lived openly by prostitution, exercising it as a profession. There were even whole streets which were inhabited by them. In Paris and in London, the number of public brothels was incredible. In the latter, in the days of Richard II. a lord mayor imported strumpets from Flanders, and kept stew-houses, where the dainty and the squeamish were to trade in this foreign merchandize. Bordelloes or stews were permitted and sanctioned by the authority of government in every country of Europe. To twelve of these Henry VII. gave his license; and signs painted on their walls distinguished them, and invited the passenger. So general was the licentiousness which now spread itself, that the proprietors of houses found it necessary to let them out under the express condition, that the lessee should keep and harbour no common women. Henry VIII. who approved not love in any form but that of matrimony, suppressed many stew-houses in Southwark, and ordained, that prostitutes should not receive the rites of the church while they lived, nor have a Christian burial when they were dead.

Such were the manners which were produced by the oppressions and disorders of the times; and the mercenaries, which were made necessary by the failure of fiefs and chivalry, led to misfortunes still greater. They were scarcely known, when the princes of Europe invented the art of extorting the wealth of their subjects, and of employing it to oppress them. While the lands dealt out by the crown created an effectual army, soldiers gave their service for their possessions,

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But, when the inconveniencies and the defects of this system had produced mercenaries, the prince had no possessions to bestow. His domains had gone away from him in prodigalities and donations. It was yet incumbent on him to maintain his troops. Money was absolutely indispensable to him, and he was to find out measures to procure it. These measures are interesting in themselves, and still more so in their consequences. They gave rise to taxations in Europe. The vassals of the crown by knight-service were obliged to personal attendance in wars; but, considering it as a burden, were disposed to compound for it. This was also the case with the inferior tenants. They were no less inclined to contribute their proportions to their lords, than these were to satisfy their prince. To the prince, the money of his vassals was of more advantage than their service; but agreements with each were fatiguing and endless; and his mercenaries were clamorous and impatient. An expedient presented itself, which, to all parties, gave the promise of ease and satisfaction. The prince, instead of the service that was due, and, instead of contracting with every tenant who held from him, assessed a moderate sum on every knight's fee throughout the kingdom. It was but just that his tenants should give a fine for their attendance; and what they furnished was to go to his mercenaries. The prerogative thus begun, was pregnant with misfortunes to subjects, and with advantages to princes, which were foreseen neither by the former nor the latter. What, at first, was a matter of expediency, and an expression of the confidence of the people, and of the discretion of the sovereign, grew into a most formidable taxation. It was exerted with no moderation or decency. In the delirium of their greatness, the princes of Europe began to fancy, that, in extracting money from their subjects, they ought to know no rule but their ambition, their wants, and their caprice.

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In conformity with the assessment on the estates subject to knight-service, a tax was demanded from the possessors of land holden in frankalmoigne and in socage. And it has already been observed, that the tenants by escuage paid a stipulated fine for their fees. All the territory of the kingdom was thus to contribute to the necessities of princes, and the greatest proportion of it was to be actually exposed to their ravages.

Their rapacity was not yet however, satisfied. The cravings of ambition, and the prodigalities of mercenaries, demanded something more. During the fortunate times of the feudal association, it had been common for the inhabitants of the cities and towns within the demesnes of the sovereign, and within those of the nobility, to express, respectively, by presents, their submission, satisfaction, and gratitude. In more unhappy times, these gifts, these fruits of generosity, were demanded as a right. These presents, the expressions of happiness, grew into tallages and exactions, and began to denote misery and wretchedness. The prince, with an unblushing audacity, levied grants at his will from his cities and towns; and his example was followed by the nobles in the cities and towns within their territories. Hence the most destructive and the most calamitous of all the oppressions of the middle times.

Measures, so hostile to the free spirit of the government, infringements of property so audacious, every where excited and inflamed the passions of the people. The princes of Europe began to contend for power, and their subjects for liberty. Struggles, the most critical and the most serious, were sustained; and the progress of these, and the respective success of the parties in the different kingdoms of Europe altered its governments to the forms they in general maintain at this hour.

In France, and in other countries, the command of the mercenaries, and the power of taxation, finally prevailed.

prevailed. In England, the frantic weaknesses of King John, and the union of the nobles and the people, renovated the Gothic liberty, and set limits to princes. While, in states less fortunate, the kingly authority was to grow into despotism, and to debase the genius of men, while taxes, and tallages, and exactions, were to be demanded in wantonness and caprice, and a cruel tyranny to diffuse oppression and grievance, the *magna charta* ordained, that no prince of England should presume to levy any tax, tallage, or exaction, without the consent of the parliament; and that, while the land of the kingdom was to be free from his rapaciousness, he should not dare to harass its cities or towns, but that they should return to the possession and enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

These disorders of the feudal militia produced mercenaries, and the use of mercenaries gave birth to taxations. Taxations were begun to be levied in all the states of Europe, at the will of the prince. This occasioned contentions between sovereigns and their subjects. The victory of the kingly authority over the liberty of the people continued in many princes the power of taxation; and this power, and the command of mercenaries, are the completion of despotism. In England, the prerogative of taxation which the prince had assumed was wrested from him by the great charter of liberties: he was to command his mercenaries; but he was to depend for their support and their pay on the generosity of his people.

The coterelli, or banditti, who had thus infused itself into the feudal army, and offered their swords to the highest bidder, introduced the idea that war might be considered as a trade. The feudal proprietor fought for his land and his nation, and the prince had no title to demand his service in any dispute of his own. He drew his sword for the safety of the state, or for its honour; but he was not bound to support the quarrels of his sovereign. When the feudal prince contended

with a great subject, the feudal vassals of the kingdom did not move indiscriminately to his call. His defenders, in this situation, were his particular vassals, or the tenants of his demesne. In like manner, if he declared war against a foreign state, without the consent of the great council of the nation, the majority of the feudal vassals might refuse to obey his mandate. It was only in the wars and in the quarrels approved by the nation, that they attended to his summons. But, when arms became a profession, the soldier stipulated his service for his pay. He consulted not for what end he was to fight. An implicit obedience was required from him; and his sword, though it might be employed against a natural and active enemy, might also be turned against his native country, and give a stab to its repose and prosperity.

When, from the refuse of the vagabonds of Europe, the taking money for service was become familiar, the making war a traffic prevailed in every state. The idle and the profligate found a way of life, which flattered their indolence and rapacity. The usual method of collecting an army, was now by contracts with nobles, who had authority over the loose and disorderly inhabitants of their estates; with captains, whose address or valour could allure adventurers to their standards; and with individuals, whose poverty or choice made them offer themselves to the constables and the marshals of princes. These troops, though more obedient than the feudal militia, were not much superior to them in discipline. For, at the end of every war, the prince, on whom they depended for pay, was in haste to disband them.

But, while this grew to be the usual method of raising an army, it was a law in the different nations of Europe, that all the subjects of a kingdom were bound to take arms in cases of necessity. Statutes, accordingly, or ordinances, ascertained the armour with which every person, in proportion to his riches and rank, was

to provide himself, and which he was to keep constantly in his possession. And thus, when dangers threatened, and sudden invasions took place, commissions of array were issued by princes, and supplies to the army called out from the provinces and counties, the villages and cities. The soldiers, levied in this manner, received also the pay of the prince. An example of an array, so early as the reign of Edward I. is remarked by Mr. Madox, and it proceeded on writs from that prince to all the sheriffs of England. It has been thought, that King John's reign afforded the first instance of an array. But it is highly probable, that arrays were prior to his age. Mr. Hume had met with no commission of array till the reign of Henry V. and this circumstance could not fail of leading him into mistakes. Arrays for sailors were practised after the same method as for soldiers. The custom is still retained in the pressing of seamen. It is somewhat remarkable, that this illegal power is yet suffered to remain with the crown. If exerted as to soldiers, it would seem the highest tyranny. In apology for it, authors have said, that it is difficult to discover an expedient to answer its purposes, without greater danger to liberty.

These schemes for a military power were still imperfect. The oppression of arrays was disgusting and cruel in the highest degree; and the troops they furnished were ill disposed to exert themselves, and without discipline. Mercenaries were the strength of armies; but, to collect such multitudes of them as were requisite for great and vigorous efforts, required an inexhaustible revenue. They had, besides, no principle of attachment or of honour. An object of terror to the people, and of suspicion to the prince, they were employed and detested; and, when the termination of a war set them loose, the condition of Europe was deformed, and the greatest disorders were perpetrated. They had no certain homes, and no regular plan of subsistence. They were at the command of the tur-

bulent and factious; they associated into bands and companies, and were often so formidable as to maintain themselves, for a time, in opposition to civil authority. Robberies, murders, the ravishment of women, and other atrocious crimes, were frequent. It was chiefly the enormous dissoluteness and irregularity of manners introduced by the mercenaries, which deformed England so much in the reign of Edward I. that the ordinary judges were thought unable to execute the laws. This, it would seem, made Edward invent a new tribunal of justice, which had power to traverse the kingdom, and to inflict discretionary punishments on offenders. Yet a court so inquisitorial was a daring insult to a free nation, and infinitely a greater calamity than all the disorders which prevailed. That country is miserable where the discretion of a judge is the law.

Confusions often lead to improvement, by demanding and pointing out a remedy. It was perceived, that the soldiery ought to be maintained or kept up, not only in times of war, but of peace. They would thus be preserved from marauding, and plunder, and riot; and, improving in discipline, they would act with greater firmness and efficacy.

The creation of a standing force, of which the idea was thus unfolded, was also facilitated by the rivalry which had prevailed between France and England. From the time that William the Conqueror had mounted the throne of England, the two kingdoms entertained a jealousy of one another. The dominions which the English possessed on the continent, being a source of consideration to them there, became the foundation of disquiets and animosities, which were ready to break out on occasions the most trifling. Frequent wars, putting to trial the strength and resources of the rival states, served to improve them in arts and in arms. Even the victories of Edward III. and Henry V. while they brought so much strength

and glory to England, were lessons of instruction to the other states of Europe, by discovering the danger which must result to all of them from the encroachments of a power so formidable and so ambitious. Thus, the decay of the feudal system, the disorders of the mercenaries, and the political condition of France with regard to England, all conspired to illustrate the necessity of a standing force.

Having deliberated maturely on the step he was to take, Charles VII. in the year 1445, selecting out of his forces a body of cavalry, to the number of nine thousand, formed them into fifteen regular and standing companies, under officers of experience. Three years after, encouraged by his success, he established a standing infantry of Frank archers, to the number of sixteen thousand. The French nobility, who had been long tired and disgusted with the fatigues and the returns of military service, to which their tenures subjected them, and the people who hoped, under disciplined troops, to be free from the insults and oppressions which they had known under the mercenaries, opposed not these establishments. They were struck with the advantages to be derived from them, but discerned not their dangerous and fatal tendency. No constitutional limitations were made; no bulwarks were raised up for the security of the national independence and liberties. Succeeding princes were to add to, and improve on, the arbitrary regulations of Charles; and, from this period, the monarchs of France were in the full capacity of levying taxes at their pleasure, and of surveying, in mockery, the rights and pretensions of their subjects.

But, while France and other states of Europe, in consequence of these general reasons, and from the idea of their own interest, and the upholding a balance of power, were to be induced to admit of standing armies, and were thence to lose their liberties, the same causes did not operate the same effects in England. The introduction

trodition of a standing army was, indeed, to be made effectual here; but at a more distant period, and on principles the most consistent with liberty. The advantages to accrue from it did not escape observation; but its dangers were still seen in the strongest light; and its establishment was opposed, till the very moment when its necessity was absolute and uncontrollable.

The feudal militia, and troops furnished by contract with nobles and captains, and by the enlisting of volunteers, still continued to constitute the usual military power of England. And as yet, also, commissions of array continued to be issued by princes to procure forces on extraordinary occasions. And the termination of every war was regularly followed with the disbandment of the army.

Of these institutions, the inconveniencies, as I have said, were infinite and enormous. They were preferable, however, to a standing army, with despotism. For regulations and policy might, in some degree, supply and alleviate their defects and abuses. These disorders, indeed, of the feudal militia, had risen to a height, which, considering the growing refinement of the nation, admitted not of any remedy. They were to endure, of consequence, till the extinction of tenures. But wholesome rules and enactments might depress or diminish the confusions and the oppressions which were the natural results of the use and dismissal of mercenaries; and these were not wanting. It was likewise possible to give a check to the violence of princes in the issuing of commissions of array; and the spirit of the constitution, and express laws, made it fully understood, that they ought to be undertaken and executed with the greatest respect for the freedom of the subject, and in cases only of urgent danger and apparent necessity.

The reduction of the power of taxation assumed by princes, and the declaration of *magna charta*, that the people were to grant the supplies which they thought necessary

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necessary to government, had fostered the passion for independence. The constant appeals of the people to charters declaratory of their ancient freedom and privileges, and correctory of abuses, that time and the maxims of tyranny had produced, gave them an evident superiority which they might exert in all political contentions. It was easy to discover when the sovereign was disposed to encroach; and the power the commons could oppose to him was decisive: to refuse him money, was to disarm him. Of himself, he could maintain no formidable army; and the people were not to lavish to him their wealth, that he might oppress them.

The schools of law, which were opened by learned men immediately after the settlement of the charters of liberty, diffused widely the fundamental and free principles of the constitution: the discussion of political topics employed even the lowest ranks of the citizens, and engendered a turbulence, which, with all its ills, must be allowed to be respectable.

The awe over parliamentary debate, which Richard II. effected by the body of four thousand archers, which he attempted to keep up, and the insolence and disorders of this band, awakened, to an uncommon degree, the public jealousy, and evinced, with decision, the dangers of a standing force. The miserable state of France, under the military despotism which Charles VII. had begun, and which Louis XI. had accomplished, displayed, in all its terrors, that mode of administration which allows to the prince the command of the taxes and the army.

The English, astonished at the tyranny and pride of kings in other nations, repressed them in their own. The spirit of opposition to the crown, natural to the government, and brought into exertion by the oppressive views and the encroaching domination of princes, unfolded all their powers to the commons. During a long series of years, no standing army was permitted.

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It was held in the utmost detestation; and its existence was even deemed incompatible with the liberty of the subject.

In the war between the houses of York and Lancaster, armies were frequently raised; but no standing establishment was thought of. The measure was both impolitic and violent, while the leaders of different factions were courting popularity. In the moment of peace, the soldier was lost in the citizen; and the army that conducted its commander to the throne, did not remain with him an instrument of his tyranny. It left him to the enjoyment of the legal rights of sovereignty, and was not to subvert the government. The struggle was not for a tyrant, but a king. The constitution was respected during scenes of violence and hostility, and the people felt a rising importance amidst slaughter and blood.

Henry VII. indeed, who united in his person the rights of the rival families, had been permitted to constitute the yeomen of the guard. But these were only for the protection of the person of the sovereign, and were not to increase to an army. They were to be a state or ornament to the crown, not a terror to the subject. The obstinacy of Charles I. and the civil wars to which it gave rise, served to confirm the ancient constitution, and to demonstrate, that neither the military power, nor the power of taxation, were prerogatives of the prince. Years and disorders tended thus to render more solid the fabric of our government.

Yet, after the restoration of Charles II. had taken place, an event of great importance in our history, called, in a particular manner, for the standing force, from which the nation was so averse. The system of tenures, so decayed and so unsuitable to refining times, hastened to extinction. Early in this reign, a statute of infinite utility gave a mortal blow to military tenures. The system of fiefs, which we have seen so beneficial in one period, and so destructive in another,

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was overturned. The feudal strength, or militia of England, after languishing for ages in disease and weakness, received the wound of which it perished. In its place a standing army was expedient, and could alone correspond with the majesty of the people and the dignity of the crown.

The invention of cannon and fire-arms had changed the art of war. Movements, evolutions, and exercises, were not to be acquired to perfection by the feudal militia, or even by mercenaries, who were hired for a season, and dismissed at the close of a campaign. Other nations were possessed of standing armies, and of these the force was not to be opposed by troops less regular and less disciplined. Self-preservation, and the necessity of attending to the balance of power in Europe, pointed irresistibly to this establishment. Its dangers, notwithstanding, were great, and might be fatal to the prince who should attempt it.

Invited, or rather compelled, by considerations the most powerful, Charles made the experiment. He ventured to maintain, by his private authority, a standing force of five thousand soldiery, for guards and garrisons. The jealous spirit of the people was alarmed. A measure so unconstitutional, excited fears and apprehensions, which behoved to be consulted. Yet James II. did not scruple to augment the standing force to thirty thousand men, whom he supported from his own civil list. The nation was on the brink of a precipice. The revolution approached. The bill of rights declared, that the sovereign was not to raise or uphold a standing force in times of peace, without the consent of the parliament. And the matured experience of succeeding times employed itself to devise the policy which was to make our army regular and formidable, with the least possible inconvenience to liberty.

A standing body of troops, as absolutely necessary, was therefore kept up under the command of the

crown, but by the authority of the legislature. The power of an act of parliament gave every year its continuance to the army; and any branch of the legislature hath annually the power to put a period to its existence, by objecting to it. Thus the dangers of a standing force are prevented: its advantages are secured; and the soldiery, not living in camps, but intermingled with the people, are considered as free citizens, and taught, while they respect the crown, to feel for the interests and prosperity of the nation. With these slow degrees, and with these symptoms of jealousy, did a standing army first become a part of our constitution. Two regiments of guards, taken into pay by Charles II. in 1661, one of horse, and one of foot, constituted the two first corps of our present army; and, as the mode and manner of their embodying on the king's account is curious and interesting, I shall conclude this digressive chapter with the particulars of it, copied from the Westminster Political Mercury, of February 20, 1661.---“On Thursday, 14th of this instant, February, they (the commissioners) disbanded the regiment of foot and life-guard of horse, on Tower Hill (being the only remaining land forces of the army) with more than ordinary solemnity. Sir William Doyley, William Prynne, Esq. Colonel Edward King, and Colonel John Birch, (four of the commissioners for Westminster,) went in a coach to Tower Hill, about ten of the clock, on Thursday, 14th of this instant (being Valentine's Day), when, the said regiment of foot and life-guard appearing with their arms before them, they ordered five companies of the foot to draw up in a ring about Mr. Prynne, and the other five about Colonel Birch, who made two short speeches to them to this effect: ‘That God had highly honoured them in the eyes and hearts of the king and kingdom, yea, and made them renowned throughout the world, and to all posterity, in stirring them up to be eminently instrumental in the happy
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restoration of his majesty to his royal throne, the parliament to their privileges, and our whole three kingdoms to their ancient laws, liberties and government, without any battle or bloodshed : for which signal services his majesty and the whole kingdome returned them not only their verbal, but real, thanks; the king having given them one week's pay, by way of gratuity, over and above their wages, and the parliament and kingdome provided monies for their just arrears stated on their respective accounts, which upon their disbanding should be forthwith paid, for their use, into their officers' hands. That this regiment, as it was the first of the army who promoted his majesty's glorious restitution to his crown, so it hath this signal badge of honour now put upon them, to be his last regiment disbanded ; and, although they were ordered and declared to be disbanded in relation to the kingdome's pay, yet they were immediately to be advanced to his majesty's service, as an extraordinary guard to his royal person, whom God long preserve in health and happiness.' Which speeches being ended, they all cried out, with reiterated shouts and acclamations, God save King Charles the Second! waving and throwing up their hats, displaying their ensigns, beating their drums, and discharging their muskets, over and over, till commanded to draw off to their respective colours, when they were called over and disbanded by Mr. Prynne, Colonel King, and Colonel Birch ; Mr. Prynne causing all those four companies he disbanded to lay down their arms at his feet, in testimony of their disbanding, and then to take them up again, as entertained by his majesty in service. In the mean time Sir William Doyley made a speech to the life guard of horse, whom he called over and disbanded ; after which, between twelve and one, the regiment marched back with their arms, in a regimental order, to their quarters, by the lord mayor's house, who, having notice thereof, came forth to the door, on whom the

soldiers bestowed several vollies of shot, as they passed by him, most of the officers dined with him, desiring him further to provide monies for payment of their arrears out of the city's three months present assessment, designed to them by the commissioners order. Their stated arrears amounting to 13,038l. 16s. 3d. besides 3800l. advanced to them to defray their quarters, in all 16,338l. 16s. 3d. whereas if the city's and other monies had come in as was expected, when their arrears were first stated, 10,200l. would have paid them all off. The life-guards arrears, for want of monies to pay them off when first stated, encreased from 5000l. to 8121l. 16s. 11d. --- 7000l. whereof they sent a party to receive at Northampton, on Thursday last; the residue was paid them by the treasurers at war, in London: most of them are since entertained by his majesty for his horse guards."

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF KING
WILLIAM THE THIRD.

WILLIAM began his reign with issuing a proclamation for continuing in office all Protestants that had been in place on the first of December 1688. On the 17th of February, 1689, he formed his privy council, but chiefly of such persons as had been most active in raising him to the throne. To gratify as many of his friends as possible, the several boards, and even the chancery, were put into commission. The benches of the exchequer and common law were filled with persons who had distinguished themselves against the measures of the late king. The Earl of Nottingham who had violently opposed the elevation of William, and the Earl of Shrewsbury who had adhered to his views, were made secretaries of state. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the first, as lord privy-seal, the second as president of the council.
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J. Chapman sculp.

WILLIAM the III.

Published as the Act directs Sept. 2. 1706



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His Dutch friends in the mean time were not forgotten by the king: Bentinck, his favourite, was made a privy counsellor, groom of the stole, and privy purse; Auverquerque was appointed master of the horse; Zuylstein received the office of master of the robes; Schomberg was placed at the head of the ordnance.

Though these instances of gratitude were no doubt necessary to William, the generality of the nation were displeased. The Tories were offended at being excluded from his favour, especially as they had departed from their principles in order to serve him. The nation in general were much prejudiced against foreigners, and universal discontent ensued upon seeing them preferred. The king, who had been bred a Calvinist, was also very strongly inclined to favour that sect; and his prejudices in favour of Calvinism were almost equal to those of James in favour of popery. Finding, therefore, the clergy of the church of England little inclined to take the oaths to the new government, he began openly to indulge his own prejudices in favour of dissenters. Having come to the house of lords to pass some bills, on the 16th of March, he made a speech, urging the necessity of admitting all Protestants indiscriminately into the public service. He told his parliament, that he had something to communicate, which would conduce as much to their settlement as to the disappointment of their enemies. He informed them, that he was employed in filling up the vacancies in offices of trust; and he hoped that they were sensible of the necessity of a law to settle the oaths to be taken by such persons as should be admitted into place. As he doubted not, he said, that they would sufficiently provide against Papists, so he hoped that they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants that were able and willing to serve. This proposition was rejected with vehemence. The adherents of the church complained that the ruin which they feared from the Papists in the preceding reign was now to be dreaded from the Protestant

tant dissenters. They affirmed, that, if the established religion was to be destroyed, it mattered little by whose hands it must fall. A bill brought in by the ministry for abrogating the former oaths of supremacy and allegiance was rejected. An attempt to dispense with the sacramental test was made without success in another form. The court party proposed that any man should be sufficiently qualified for an office by producing a certificate of his having received the sacrament in any Protestant congregation. But this motion was also rejected in the house of lords by a great majority. William repeated his attempts of a comprehension; but he was ultimately unsuccessful, and in the coronation-oath the church-party inserted a clause highly favourable to themselves, viz. that the king should maintain the Protestant religion "as established by law." To this clause William is said to have discovered an apparent unwillingness to swear.

For these and other reasons the government of William was for some time but in a very tottering condition. The king, either through want of health or inclination, interfered but little in the affairs of the nation. Ireland was strangely neglected. Halifax and Danby, who had in a manner raised the king to the throne, caballed with his enemies. They perceived that the people, with the same levity that induced them to desert their former sovereign, were beginning to be discontented with their new prince. Every thing seemed to tend to a change. Halifax himself declared, that, were James to conform with the Protestants, he could not be kept four months from re-ascending his throne. Danby averred, that, were the late king to give satisfaction for the security of religion, it would be difficult to oppose his restoration. From these apparent discontents of the nation, the friends and emissaries of James assumed more boldness; they tampered with the servants of the crown, and inflamed the army: the former they alarmed with the prospect of a sudden change;

change; the latter they roused into indignation by the manifest preference given by William to his countrymen the Dutch.

Though the kingdom of Scotland did not at first recognize the authority of William, yet the party of James never attained sufficient strength to be of any effectual service to him in that kingdom. Thirty Scots peers, and near eighty gentlemen, then in London, had waited in the beginning of January on the Prince of Orange. Without any authority from the regency still subsisting in Edinburgh, they formed themselves into a kind of convention. The Prince of Orange in a formal manner asked their advice. He withdrew, and they adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton, being chosen president, explained the distracted state of Scotland. He represented, that disorders, anarchy, and confusion, prevailed; and he urged the necessity of placing the power somewhere till a convention of states should be called to form a lasting and solid settlement. When the heads of their address to the Prince of Orange were settled, and ordered to be ingrossed, the Earl of Arran unexpectedly arose, and proposed to invite back King James. The meeting, however, adhered to the Prince of Orange; and waited on him in a body, requesting him to take the administration into his hands. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him; and a convention was ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, and it was provided that no exception or limitation whatever should be made, except that the members should be Protestants.

A secession, however, was made from this convention, in favour of James. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viscount Dundee, were authorized by an instrument signed by the late king, at that time in Ireland, to call a convention of the states at Stirling. But this measure was disappointed, first by the wavering disposition of the Marquis of Athol,

Athol, and afterwards by the delay and folly of the party. At last, the Viscount Dundee, being alarmed by an information of a design formed by the covenanters to assassinate him, left Edinburgh at the head of fifty horse. When he passed under the walls of the castle, the Duke of Gordon, who held that place, and favoured the cause of James, called him to a conference. He scrambled up the precipice, and informed the duke of his designs in favour of the late king. He conjured him to hold out the castle, under a certainty of being relieved. The novelty of the sight collected multitudes of spectators. The convention were alarmed: the president ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid upon the table. The drums were beat to alarm in the town. A parcel of ill-armed retainers were gathered together in the street by the Earl of Leven. Dundee in the mean time rode off with his party. But, when they found themselves secure, the Duke of Hamilton adjourned the convention, which relieved the adherents of James from dreadful apprehensions for their own safety. Fifty members retired from Edinburgh; and that circumstance procured an unanimity in all the succeeding resolutions of the convention. Soon after this, it was determined in a committee that James had *forefaulted* his right to the crown, by which was meant that he had perpetually excluded himself and his whole race from the crown, which was thereby become vacant. This resolution was approved by the convention, and another was drawn up for raising William and Mary to the vacant throne; in consequence of which they were proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 11th of April 1689. An accidental circumstance, which happened on William's taking the coronation oath, rendered him popular among the Scotch. The administration of the coronation oath of Scotland was performed with much solemnity: the king, stretching out his right hand while he swore, repeated each word deliberately after the person who read the form of the oath,

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oath. A clause was contained in it, by which the king engaged to "root out heretics." At these words William stopped the Earl of Argyle, who was administering the oath, and declared he would on no account become a persecutor. The commissioners replied, that such was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," said the king, "I take it in that sense only." Such scrupulous attention to the engagements he entered into, was becoming a king, and highly pleasing to the people.

The castle of Edinburgh was still kept, in the name of James, by the Duke of Gordon; but, despairing of any relief, and pressed by a siege, he surrendered it on the 13th of June upon honourable terms. The adherents of James, terrified with this unexpected misfortune, now turned their eyes to the Viscount Dundee. That nobleman having been in vain urged by the convention to return, they had declared him a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel. General Mackay had been sent to Scotland by William with four regiments of foot, and one of dragoons; and Dundee, being apprised of his design to surprise him, retired to the Grampian mountains with a few horse. He marched from thence to Gordon castle, where he was joined by the Earl of Dunfermline with fifty gentlemen. He then passed through the county of Murray to Inverness. Macdonald of Keppoch lay with seven hundred men before that town; after having ravaged, in his way from his own country, the lands of the clan of Macintosh. Dundee having promised to the magistrates of Inverness to repay, at the king's return, the money extorted from them by Macdonald, induced the latter to join him with all his men. He could not prevent them, however, from first returning home with their spoil. He accompanied them to Lochaber, and on the 8th of May arrived in Badenoch. From thence he wrote letters to the chiefs of all the clans, appointing them to meet at a general rendezvous at Lochaber, on the 18th of the same month. In the mean time, passing suddenly

through Athol, he surpris'd the town of Perth. In hopes of gaining to his party the two troops of Scots dragoons who lay at Dundee, he march'd suddenly to that place: but the fidelity of Captain Balfour, who commanded them, disappointed his views. Having rais'd the land-tax as he pass'd, Dundee return'd through Athol and Rannoch to hold the diet of rendezvous at Lochaber. Here he was reinforced by several Highland chieftains, so that his army amounted to fifteen hundred men. He pursu'd Mackay for four days, who had advanced to Inverness, but afterwards retreat'd to Strathbogie, leaving the whole Highlands expos'd to the enemy. Soon after, however, Dundee found himself surrounded with many difficulties. The officers of the Scots dragoons, who held a secret correspondence with him, wrote him false intelligence, as an excuse for their own fears. They inform'd him, that a party of Irish, who had endeavour'd to land in Scotland, under the Duke of Berwick, were driven back, and the duke himself taken prisoner; and that Mackay had been reinforced with a regiment of English horse, and another of foot. On this intelligence, Dundee retreat'd to Badenoch. The natives of the low country who serv'd in his army quitted him without leave; and the Highlanders plunder'd the country wherever they came: at last he himself fell sick, while Mackay hover'd on his rear. A slight skirmish happen'd, in which the Highlanders prevail'd; but they lost their baggage during the action. Dundee at length arriv'd at Ruthven; but Mackay being reinforced with a body of twelve hundred men advanced against him, and other regiments had arriv'd at Perth and Dumblain. The Highlanders now desert'd every night by hundreds; their gallant leader himself was forc'd to retire to Lochaber, where only two hundred of his whole force remain'd with him; and, to complete his misfortunes, he receiv'd at the same time news of the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. On the 23d of June, letters arriv'd

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rived from King James, with a promise of immediate succours from Ireland; upon which Dundee ordered the neighbouring clans to assemble round his standard. But still he had scarcely any thing but the mere bodies of his men with which he could prosecute the war. The Highlanders were armed only with their own proper weapons, and he had no more than forty pounds of powder in his whole army. All difficulties, however, were surmounted by the active spirit of the general, for whom the army entertained an enthusiastic zeal. On the 17th of July, he met the king's forces under General Mackay, near the pass of Killicranky. An engagement ensued, in which the Highlanders were victorious. Two thousand of Mackay's men were lost either in the field or in the pursuit; but the victory cost the Highlanders very dear, for their brave general was mortally wounded. He survived the battle, however; and wrote an account of the victory to James: he even imagined his wound was not mortal; but he died the next morning at Blair. With him ended all the hopes of James in Scotland. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded Dundee in command, possessed neither his popularity nor his abilities. After some insignificant actions, in which the valour of the soldiers was more conspicuous than the conduct of their leader, the Highlanders dispersed themselves in disgust; and the war soon after ended favourably for William, without any repulse given to his enemies.

During the troubles in England, which had terminated in placing William on the throne, the two parties in Ireland were kept in a kind of tranquillity by their mutual fears. The Protestants were terrified at the prospect of another massacre; and the Papists expected every day to be invaded by the joint force of the English and Dutch. Their terrors, however, were ill founded; for though Tyrconnel sent several messages to the prince, that he was ready to deliver up the kingdom to any force that might make a surrender decent,

his offers were always rejected. William was persuaded by the Marquis of Halifax, that, should Ireland yield, no pretence could remain for keeping an army in pay; that then, having no army to protect his authority, he might as easily be turned out as he had been brought in; that the English nation could never remain long in a state of good humour; and that he might perceive they already began to be discontented. These insidious arguments induced William to neglect Ireland in such a manner as is justly looked upon to be one of the greatest blemishes in his whole reign. His enemies, indeed, though perhaps without any good foundation, assign a worse cause; viz. that, should England be confirmed under his government, Ireland could not long hold out; and that the obstinacy of his Irish enemies would give a pretence for forfeitures to gratify his English, but especially his foreign, friends.

Tyrconnel, disappointed in his views of surrendering Ireland to the Prince of Orange, affected to adhere to James. The whole military force of the kingdom at that time amounted only to four thousand men, and of these only six hundred were in Dublin; and what was still worse, all of them were so much disposed to quit the service, that the lord deputy was obliged to issue commissions for levying new forces. Upon this, an half-armed rabble, rather than an army, rose suddenly in various parts of the kingdom. Having no pay from the king, they subsisted by depredations, and regarded no discipline. The Protestants in the north armed themselves in their own defence; and the city of Londonderry, relying on its situation, and a slight wall, shut its gates against the new-raised army. Protestant parties in the mean time rose every where, declaring their resolution to unite in self-defence, to preserve the Protestant religion, to continue their dependence on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament.

To preserve appearances, William now sent General Hamilton, an Irishman and a Roman catholic, to treat with Tyrconnel; but, instead of persuading that lord to yield to William, this messenger advised him to adhere to James. In the mean time James himself assured the lord deputy, that he was ready to sail from Brest with a powerful armament. Hamilton, assuming spirit from the hopes of this aid, marched against the northern insurgents. They were routed with considerable slaughter at Drumore; and Hillsborough, where they had fixed their head-quarters, was taken without resistance: the city of Londonderry, however, resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

William now pressed his parliament to enable him to make head against the abdicated king in Ireland; the language he used on the occasion deserves to be commemorated. "I assure you," said the king, "I will never abuse the confidence you shall put in me; being fully persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a good government between a king and his people, but a mutual trust: when that is once broken, a government is half dissolved: it shall therefore be my chief care never to give any parliament cause to distrust me; and, the best method I can choose for that purpose is, never to expect any thing from them, but what it shall be their own interest to grant." He then proceeded to urge the necessity of preparing for war without delay; the payment of the Dutch charges in the cause of the revolution, and the settlement of the revenue. To reduce Ireland he demanded twenty thousand men; for the marine service he said a powerful fleet was necessary to be joined to that Holland, in order to guard the seas against France. "The Dutch," he said, "had neglected their own safety, to relieve England from the extremity she was under. By this conduct they had drawn inevitable destruction upon themselves, unless the service was now repaid: the grand enemy to the repose of Europe meditated the destruction of Holland,

as the previous step to that of England. The Dutch have really," continued he, "exhausted themselves to a degree which is not easy to be imagined; and I am confident your generosity towards them will have as little bounds as theirs had towards you."

Among the army there were some corps disaffected to the reigning prince; and of the Scotch, the royal regiment of dragoons particularly, which are known at present by the name of the Scotch grays; and Lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The last of these had been the favourite regiment of the late king, because it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and soldiers were at this time disgusted, because Lord Dumbarton had been dismissed from the command of it, and Marshal Schomberg put in his room. William therefore resolved to send over the disaffected corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace some of the Dutch troops, which, as he could confide in, he determined to keep in England. The regiments which were to be sent off mutinied in their march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for King James, and, with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. The king immediately hereupon ordered General Ginkle to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, to whom the mutineers surrendered at discretion. The king removed a few of their officers, and inflicted no other punishment on the corps, than to take from them the power of doing mischief, by sending them to the place of their destination; and soon after he transported the other disaffected troops into Flanders; thus turning that animosity of spirit against the nation's enemies, which, if suffered to gain strength at home, might have recoiled against the power it was designed to protect. This mutiny gave rise to a law, which made an important innovation in the English constitution, namely, the act for punishing mutiny and desertion. By this law a

legal sanction was given to the establishment of standing armies, which had been hitherto rather connived at than authorized by parliament. This act, limited to the space of one year, has ever since been annually renewed; but, the renewal being almost considered as a matter of course, the form serves only to keep the people in mind that standing armies were deemed illegal by their ancestors.

On the 7th of March 1689, James embarked at Brest. The whole force of his expedition consisted of fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships. Twelve hundred of his native subjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, composed the whole army of James. He landed at Kinsale without opposition on the 12th of the month, where he was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. His first care was to secure, in the fort of Kinsale, the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought from France; and put the town in some posture of defence: which having done, he advanced to Corke. Tyrconnel arrived at this place soon after, and brought intelligence of the rout at Drumore. James was so much pleased with his attachment and services, that he created him a duke; after which he himself advanced towards Dublin. The condition of the rabble, who poured round him under the name of an *army*, was not calculated to raise his hopes of success. The most of them were only provided with clubs; some had sticks tipped with iron; and even of those who were best armed, scarcely two in a hundred had muskets fit for service. Their very numbers distressed their sovereign, and ruined the country; insomuch that James resolved to disband the greatest part of them. More than one hundred thousand were already on foot in the different parts of the island. Of these he reserved fourteen regiments of horse and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot; the rest he ordered to their respective

tive homes, and armed those that were retained in the best manner he could.

James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met by a Popish procession, bearing the host, which he publicly adored; and this served to alienate the few Protestants of that kingdom who still adhered to his cause. Being so well received at Dublin, James proceeded immediately to business. He ordered, by proclamation, all Protestants who had abandoned the kingdom to return. He commanded, in a second proclamation, all Papists, except those in his army, to lay up their arms, and put an end to the robberies and depredations which they had committed in the violence of their zeal. He raised the value of the currency by a proclamation; and he summoned a parliament to meet on the 7th of May, to settle the affairs of the kingdom. The Protestant clergy represented their grievances in an address; and the university of Dublin appeared with complaints and congratulations. He assured the first of his absolute protection, and a full redress; and he promised the latter not only to defend, but even to enlarge, their privileges.

On the 8th of April, James left Dublin, resolving to lead his army against the insurgents in person. He took Coleraine and Kilmore, after a stout resistance, and then marched towards Londonderry, and met with a vigorous resistance, for a whole night, at the Long Causey; but, being greatly superior in number, forced them to retreat Londonderry. Upon this a council of war was held in the town, in which it was agreed to surrender the place to King James. Captain White was accordingly sent out to receive proposals from him, and it was at the same time agreed with Lieutenant-general Hamilton, that he should not march the army within four miles of the town. But James, being persuaded that they would surrender at the sight of his formidable army, advanced before the walls, when, meeting

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meeting with a warm reception, his men were put into some disorder; upon which the king returned to St. John's town. The narrative of this memorable siege is compiled from Dr. Walker's Account; he was rector of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, and raised a regiment in favour of the Protestant cause. The governor of the town, being inclined to surrender the place, was suspected of disaffection to King William, and was glad to make his escape to Scotland. The garrison being effectually encouraged by Doctor Walker, to maintain the town against King James, he and Major Baker were chosen governors of it during the approaching siege. They regimented the men in the town to the number of 7020, eight colonels, and 333 inferior officers. But after all, the town was but in a bad condition to stand out against so formidable an army as was that of James. For it was ill fortified, the garrison composed of poor people, frightened from their own homes, without a proportionable number of horse to sally out, or engineers to instruct and assist them, and not above twenty guns, viz. eight sakers, and twelve demiculverins, and all of them badly mounted; add to this, that they had but scanty provisions to supply the many mouths they had to feed. Nor were they thoroughly united; for several deserted day after day; others gave constant intelligence to the besiegers, and secretly laboured to betray the governors; yet was the courage and zeal of the majority superior to all these difficulties. The place was invested on the 20th of April, and the next day James began to batter it. The governors took an opportunity to send to King William for a speedy assistance, acquainting him with their resolution to defend the place to the utmost extremity. In the mean time several attacks were made by the besiegers, and as many sallies by the garrison; and all to the advantage of the latter, who suffered less from the enemy without, than from those worse enemies within, famine and sickness.---King James,

on the 29th of April, left the camp to meet his parliament at Dublin; and the besiegers, finding their attempts did not succeed, removed their main body from St. John's town, to Rely-ugry-hill, about two miles from Londonderry, for the closer guarding of the city, and to hinder the town's people from coming to the wells for water. On the 4th of June the besiegers made an assault on that part of the place they thought the most accessible, but were repulsed with great slaughter, and the next morning began to batter the walls with as little success. But now the besieged began to be reduced to the greatest extremity, when they discovered three ships that fired at Kilmore-castle, and attempted coming up the river; but were prevented by the enemy's shot. Soon after, June 15, they saw a fleet of thirty sail in the Lough, which they imagined came from England to their relief. But they could get no intelligence from them; the enemy watching them very narrowly, and, having raised batteries opposite to the ships, lined both sides of the river with musqueteers, and contrived in the narrow part of the river, where the ships were to pass, a kind of staccado, a boom of timber joined by iron chains, and strengthened by a cable of twelve inches thickness, twisted round it. Notwithstanding these difficulties, one Roch boldly ventured to get to the water side, over against the town, and then, swimming cross the river, informed the besieged, that Major-general Kirk was come to their assistance, with men, provision, and arms. This messenger was accompanied by another, to give the same account, and to know the condition of the garrison, but, being taken by the enemy, was by them instructed to frame a message much differing from the other. Thereupon the besiegers invited the garrison to a parley, telling them that they were under great mistakes about Kirk, and their expectations from England, where things were all in confusion; and that they might have leave to inform themselves from the messenger

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they had taken. But the cheat was soon discovered by those persons whom the besieged sent to inquire into the matter. The besieged received farther intelligence by a little boy, who, with great ingenuity, brought two letters from Major-general Inch; the one tied in his garter, and another within a cloth button, by which they were given to understand that Inch would endeavour to relieve them, and that more help was coming from England, where all was quiet.

But in the mean time the besieged were greatly weakened by famine, which raged among them; and, though they made several bold attempts to reach the ships in the river, they were still prevented by the enemy's shot. Major Baker falling sick about this time, Colonel Michleburn was chosen in his room, to assist Dr. Walker in the government of the town. As to the besiegers, they were encouraged by the arrival of a French general, Conrard de Rose, who was appointed to the chief command in the Irish camp. The general having viewed the fortifications of the town, and finding what little progress had been made in the siege, expressed himself with great fury at the besieged, swore he would level the place with the ground, and bury those who defended it in the ruins, and threatened to commit the utmost barbarities. But the besieged, having absolutely devoted themselves to the defence of their city and religion, were as little moved by his threats as by his promises, of which he was equally liberal. And, to prevent the town from being surrendered, the governors made an order, that the penalty for such a motion should be immediate death.

Governor Baker, to the great loss and affliction of the besieged, died on the 20th of June. Three days before, General Hamilton sent some plausible offers to the garrison, to which they seemed to hearken, till they had taken the opportunity to search for provisions. And though they were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon horse-flesh, dogs, cats, rats, and mice, tal-

low, starch, dried and salted hides, and even the most loathsome things, yet they resolved to eat the Irish, and then one another, rather than surrender; and therefore returned a resolute refusal to Hamilton.

The French general was so enraged at their obstinacy, that he published an order directed to the governors and garrison of Londonderry, importing, "That, if they did not deliver up the town to him by the first of July, he would lay waste all the country, and dispatch orders to rob all, protected, as well as unprotected, Protestants, related to the garrison, or their faction; and that they should be driven under the walls of Derry, where they should be suffered to starve."

But the besieged treated this order with the same contempt as they had done Hamilton's; however, upon application made by the Bishop of Meath to James, he said he had countermanded the French general's order; and that, had he been a subject of his own, he would have called him to an account for it. But, notwithstanding this, seven thousand of the poor Protestants were gathered together, and brought under the walls of Londonderry, where they must have perished, if the garrison had not erected a gallows in view of the besiegers, threatening to hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, by way of reprisals, and acquainted the enemy, that they might send priests to their friends to prepare them for death after their own manner. Even the prisoners themselves detested the barbarity of the French generals, and declared they could not blame the garrison for putting them to death. They also desired leave to write to Hamilton; this was granted, but their remonstrances had seemingly no effect on him; but the sight of the gallows, and the interposition of some friends, at last prevailed, and the poor half-starved Protestants had leave to return to their habitations. As the garrison consisted of five thousand seven hundred and nine men, the governors took the opportunity to lessen them, by turning out

five hundred useless people among the Protestants under the walls, who got off with them unnoticed by the enemy, though, in exchange, they got some able and strong men out of their numbers. But now the vilest eatables were almost consumed, and the garrison had nothing left to feed on, but one another.

Then the governor, Dr. Walker, fearing the distress of the garrison might overcome their resolution, preached in the cathedral, endeavoured to confirm their constancy, by reminding them of the several instances of Providence that they had experienced during the siege, and, with a kind of prophetic energy, assured them of a speedy deliverance. And indeed it so happened; for, within an hour after, the garrison discovered three ships, which Major Kirk, according to his promise, had sent. These were the Mountjoy of Derby, commanded by Captain Browning; the Phoenix of Calram, by Captain Douglas, laden with provision, convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate.

The enemy fired furiously upon them from Culmore, and both sides the river, which was received and returned with great bravery. One of the ships, the Mountjoy, made a little stop at the boom, occasioned by her rebound, after striking, and, breaking it, by this means ran aground. At which the enemy gave a loud and joyful shout, and, which alarmed the besieged more, fired all their guns upon her, and were preparing their boats to board her. But happily, firing a broadside, the shock so loosened the ship, that she got clear, and passed the boom. In the mean time Captain Douglas was engaged, and the Dartmouth kept the enemy fully employed, till the ships got up to the city, to the inconceivable joy of the garrison, who had only two days miserable provisions, nine lean horses, and each man a pint of meal.

This brave and successful undertaking so discouraged the enemy, that they raised the siege in the night, of the 28th of July, in great confusion, making miserable havock

havock in the country, as they retreated. Their first encampment was at Strabane; but, hearing that the Inniskillin men had defeated their forces under Lieutenant Mackarty, they removed their camp farther.

The inhabitants of Inniskillin were no less brave than those of Londonderry, who had proclaimed William and Mary on the 11th of March; for Lord Gilmoy declaring for James, having summoned the governor to surrender the place to him, they unanimously agreed, in council, to support the Protestant religion, and King William's title; upon which Lord Gilmoy landed all his forces near Crom, a castle 16 miles distant from Inniskillin, and held by the Protestants, which was besieged some time by part of his troops; but the Inniskillers, having thrown a relief of two hundred men into the castle, forced him to raise the siege, and retreat to Belturbat. April the 24th, a detachment of the garrison of Inniskillin, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, made an incursion into the enemy's country, took and demolished the castle at Anghor, and returned home with a considerable booty. Several other skirmishes and rencounters passed between the two parties, wherein the Inniskilliners signalized their valour, and always proved successful. But the most remarkable was that which happened on the same day on which Londonderry was relieved, when two thousand Inniskilliners fought and routed six thousand Irish, at a place called Newton-butler, and took their commander, Mackarty, with the loss of only twenty men killed and fifty wounded.

During these transactions, King William declared war against the French king; but, previous to this, an engagement happened between the English and French fleets in Bantry-bay. Admiral Herbert being informed that a considerable supply, which the French king was sending to King James, was shipping off at Brest, intended to have gone directly towards that harbour, but the wind changing to the east, which might

might bring the French fleet out, he stood over to Kinsale. But, six days after, hearing the enemy were gone into Baltimore, being forty-four sail, commanded by Chateau Renaut, he bore away towards that place, but found there no sign of them. However, in the evening, his scouts discovered them making for Bantry-bay. Herbert lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, stood in, and found the French at an anchor. But, upon the approach of the English fleet, they presently got under sail, and bore down upon them in a line of twenty-eight men of war, and five fireships. Admiral Herbert's Squadron consisted of eighteen men of war, a frigate, and a fireship: he came up with the enemy on the 1st of May, 1689, when he stood in to engage them. The French admiral, conscious of his superiority, and perceiving the intention of the English, weighed anchor, formed his fleet into a line of battle, and advanced, in regular order, to the combat. The ardour of the English admiral, and of the English seamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line being formed with the same regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and shewed, by their workings, to the astonishment of the English, that their vessels were agile, and their seamen dextrous. The battle continued the greatest part of the day, without any decisive success on either side. Herbert tacked several times, in hopes of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept the wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. In the evening the English retired towards Scilly, the French towards Ireland. No ships were lost on either side, but several were disabled. The English had one hundred men killed and three hundred wounded. Each admiral laid claim to the victory, as it often happens in sea-engagements; but the English officers and seamen looked upon it as a defeat, because they had gained no decisive advantage on their own element, and the French accounted it a victory not to have been

been defeated. The latter, however, made their disembarkation good, and returned unmolested into the port of Brest, which determined on whose side the advantage lay. Herbert expected a reinforcement to join him at the Scilly Isles, but, receiving none, he returned to Portsmouth much chagrined, and the officers and seamen partook of his ill-humour. King William, in order to appease these discontents, visited his fleet at Portsmouth, went on-board the admiral's ship Elizabeth, where he dined, and bestowed a peerage on Herbert; knighted Captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private seaman. The men, highly gratified by this behaviour of their sovereign, were led to believe that they had beat that enemy, by whom a few days ago they had acknowledged they were defeated.

To return to the affairs of Ireland. As soon as news was brought to England that the siege of Londonderry was raised, General Schomberg sailed, with ninety vessels of all sorts, and near ten thousand men, horse and foot, for Carrickfergus, and on the next day in the afternoon, arrived in that bay, where the army presently landed, without opposition, on Bangor side. They first sent out parties to scour the country round about, and get intelligence of the enemy. These being returned back safe, the general led his army to Belfast, which the enemy had quitted, retiring to Carrickfergus, and where several persons joined him who durst not declare before. After the army was refreshed, several regiments were detached forwards to Carrickfergus with cannon and mortars, upon whose approach, the enemy beat a parley; but the general not assenting to their demands, the town was attacked. The trenches were opened on the 22d of August, some batteries raised, and the siege carried on in form. The besieged were now more eager than before to capitulate; but the duke still refusing to let them march out with the usual honours of war, and they insisting upon it, the attacks
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J. Chapman

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DUKE of SCOMBERG

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were vigorously continued till the 26th of August; when, some considerable breaches being made, and all things ready for a general assault, the garrison was contented to accept the conditions the besiegers were pleased to grant, viz. to be conducted with arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs, to Newry, being the next Irish garrison.

Whilst the siege of Carrickfergus was carrying on, the rest of the English forces, which had been detained behind for want of ships, were embarked at Highlake, and safely landed in Ireland. August 28, the duke returned to Belfast; and, on the last day of the month, mustered his army, consisting of four regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot, and pitched his camp at Drummore. The next day he pursued his march to Loughbrilane, and continued in an uncertain posture, till the twentieth of September, when he received advice that King James having gathered all his forces near Drogheda, advanced towards him; and that a party of 2000 foot, and 1500 horse, were gone beyond the mountains to attack the pass at Newry, and fall into his rear. He therefore detached a party of horse against them, at the sight of whom they retreated towards Sligo. Though the enemy several times, seemingly, offered him battle, yet the duke prudently declined, considering the inferiority of his horse, and the weak state of his army, through hunger and sickness, whilst the enemy was flushed with health and plenty. A day or two after, a dangerous conspiracy was formed in the English camp, but was soon discovered and prevented.

Though the duke thought proper to keep inactive upon the whole, yet he permitted the Inniskilliners to make excursions, which they did with great success. But, some time after, the Irish were also successful in their turns, and took Sligo and James-Town. For, marching that way in a considerable body, under the command of one Sarsfield, those of James-Town not

thinking it tenable, abandoned it, and marched to Sligo; but they lost some of their men, and killed some of the Irish, in their hasty retreat. Sarsfield, the next day, advanced with his little army before Sligo, upon which Colonel Russel retired to Ballishannon, and advised the foot also to quit the place. However, M. St. Sauveur, a resolute French captain in Melloniere's regiment, with his own company of French grenadiers, and Colonel Lloyd with his bold Inniskilliners, continued in the town, and, upon the approach of Sarsfield, retreated to the two forts, each into one. The last not knowing how to subsist his men retired in the night with some loss; but the French captain having carried in some provisions, and finding some ammunition in the fort, bravely resolved to maintain his post. The nights were then dark, and he, fearing the enemy might make their approaches to the fort undiscovered, got a great many fir-deals; and, dipping the ends of them in tar, they gave such a light, when set on fire and hung over the walls, that he discovered the enemy advancing towards them with an engine called a sow; but, having killed the engineer and two or three more, the rest retreated, and he burnt the engine. As soon as day appeared, the Irish were forced to quit a small field-piece they had planted in the street, being galled with shot from the fort by St. Sauveur's men, who presently after sallied out, and killed the men. But at last, though their courage did not fail, yet their provision did; and, there being little or no water in the fort, they surrendered it upon honourable terms; and, at their marching over the bridge, Colonel Sarsfield, being desirous to purchase these brave men at any rate, stood with a purse of gold, and offered every man who would serve King James horse and arms, with five guineas advance; but they all answered, "They would never fight for papists;" one excepted, who, the next day after he had got the horse, arms, and money, brought all off with him to Dundalk.

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In the mean time, sickness raging in the English army, occasioned by the unwholesomeness of the place, wet weather, and bad food, numbers of both officers and soldiers died daily. Of the latter 2000 died at Dundalk, and as many were transported by sea to Belfast, of whom not above nine hundred lived to reach the shore; and so great was the mortality next year, that near two-thirds of the army perished. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, and Duke Schomberg renewed his instances for the coming over of seven thousand auxiliary Danes, who about this time arrived in England and Scotland.

Next year, 1690, the English army, being better provided with fresh provisions, began to grow more healthy, when General Schomberg, being informed that the enemy was drawing down some forces towards Dundalk, and that they had provided magazines with a design to disturb his frontier garrisons, sent a considerable body of horse and foot that way, and marched himself towards Drummore, to observe the enemies motions. But the designs of the Irish lay at this time another way; for, while the duke was upon this expedition, Colonel Woolsey was informed, that they intended to fall upon Belturbat, a town which that colonel had taken from them not long before. Thereupon Woolsey marched with great diligence from Belturbat, with seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse and dragoons, towards the enemy; but, being unacquainted with their numbers, and they having had notice of his approach, instead of surprising them he was surprised himself, finding them nine thousand strong, and in a posture to receive him. However, there being now no way to retreat, either with honour or safety, he made his men sensible of their common danger, and so animated them by his own example, that, having engaged the Irish, he defeated them with great loss; pursued them as far as Cavan, where they had a little fort; set that town on fire; and, in his return to Belturbat,

took the castle of Killishandra, with a great booty of cattle. About the same time Sir John Lanier, with a party of a thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, made an attempt upon Dundalk, took Bedloe-castle, and about one thousand five hundred cows and oxen; and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, on Good Friday, took the only frigate the late king had in his possession, in that monarch's own fight, in Dublin-bay, notwithstanding all the opposition that could be made against him by sea and land. But what afflicted King James more sensibly, was the loss of the castle of Charlemont, a strong place, chiefly by nature, as being seated upon a piece of ground in the middle of a bay, and only accessible by two ways, which the Irish had partly broken down. This post being of great importance, Duke Schomberg resolved to make himself master of it, and succeeded in his attempt partly by a stratagem. The garrison of that place, which for some time had been blocked up by the French regiments of La Caillemote and Cambon, being put to great streights for want of victuals, the abdicated king sent a strong detachment under M'Mahon with provision to relieve it; of which Duke Schomberg being informed, ordered the blockade to let M'Mahon pass with his convoy after a slight resistance, but to drive back all that returned from the castle. By this means the garrison, that had received but a slender relief, and were forced to feed their new guests as well as themselves, were soon reduced to greater exigencies than before, and, by a vigorous prosecution of the siege, forced at last to capitulate on the 13th of May. The next day they marched out, to the number of eight hundred men; and the duke, who was come to view them, seeing many women and children among them, asked the reason of it, considering they could not but destroy their provisions. He was answered, That the Irish were naturally very hospitable, and that they all fared alike: but the greatest reason was, the soldiers would not stay in the garrison without their

their wives and mistresses. To which his grace replied, "There was more love than policy in it." There was found in the place good store of ammunition, seventeen pieces of brass cannon, and two mortars; so that the enemy might have held out longer, if they had not wanted either courage or provisions. The same day that Charlemont surrendered, the brave Colonel Woolsey, who had been considerably reinforced by a party of Danes, made himself master of the strong castle of Balingargy, near Cavan. Upon the loss of which, the Irish quitted two considerable posts, and burnt several castles on that side, and prepared to abandon Dundalk, Ardee, Castle-Blaney, and Carichmarh-Cross.

Thus stood affairs in Ireland, when King William landed at Carrickfergus, on June 14, 1690, being attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, the Hon. Mr. Boyle, and many other persons of distinction; and that evening went to Belfast in Duke Schomberg's coach. Two or three days after, his majesty marched to Lisburn, where the general kept his head-quarters, and from thence to Hillsborough, where, on the 20th, he published an order forbidding the pressing of horses, and the committing any violence on the country people. His majesty, having declared both his intention of pursuing the war with vigour, and his disapprobation of the cautious counsels of some of his generals, by saying, That he did not come there to let grass grow under his feet, ordered the whole army to encamp at a place called Loughbritland; where, upon a critical review, he found them to consist of thirty-six thousand men, English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Germans, all well appointed in every respect. From Loughbritland King William marched his army to Dundalk, and was so pleased with the prospect of the country, as he rode along, that he said to those about him, "It was highly worth fighting for."

for." He did not stay long at Dundalk, but, upon advice that the enemy had abandoned Ardee, he immediately directed his march thither.

The late King James was no sooner informed of King William's landing, but he began to stir himself, and on June the 16th set out from Dublin, with about six thousand French foot, consisting of old experienced soldiers who were lately arrived from France, and committed the guard of that city to six thousand of the county militia, under the command of Colonel Luttrell. Having joined the rest of his forces, which now amounted to almost an equal number with those of King William's, besides fifteen thousand which remained in garrisons, a council of war was held, wherein it was thought fit to repass the Boyne, and to weary out the English by marches and counter-marches along that river, it being thought impossible for them to pass it, while James had an army to defend the opposite banks at such an advantage; but nevertheless that unfortunate prince, knowing King William's courage and resolution were rather animated than damped by difficulties, and mistrusting the event, ordered Sir Patrick Trant, commissioner of the revenue, to prepare him ships at Waterford, that in case he were worsted he might secure his retreat to France.

On the 13th of June, King William, being informed that the enemy had repassed the Boyne, ordered his whole army to move by break of day in three lines towards that river, which was about three miles distant from them: whereupon the advanced-guards of horse, commanded by Sir John Lanier, moved in very good order, and by nine o'clock got within two miles of Drogheda. The king, who marched in the front of them, observing there was a hill to the east of the enemy, and north from the town, rode thither to view their camp, which he found to be all along the river in two lines. Here the king held a long consultation with the Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Schomberg and Ormond,



J. Chapman sculp

The Battle of the Boyne.

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Ormond, Count Solmes, Major-general Scravenmore, Lord Sidney, and other great officers, who made all their observations upon the enemy. Among the rest, Scravenmore seemed to despise them, saying they were but a handful of men, for he could not reckon above forty-six battalions that lay encamped; but the king and Prince George wisely answered, that they might have a great many men in the town, and that there was also a hill to the south-west, beyond which part of their army might be encamped; however, added the king, "we shall soon be better acquainted with their numbers." From this place the king rode on to the pass at the old bridge, and stood upon the side of the bank, within musket-shot of the fords there, to take a nearer view of the enemies posture; and, in some time after, rode about two hundred paces up the river, near the west of all the enemies' camp. Whilst the army was marching in, his majesty, being fatigued with his toil, alighted from his horse, and rested himself for an hour on a little eminence; which the enemy perceiving, they immediately planted two field-pieces opposite to him. The king had no sooner mounted again, but the Irish fired at him, and with the first shot killed a man and two horses within a hundred paces of his majesty. This bullet was soon succeeded by another; which, having first grazed on the bank of the river, did in its rising slant upon the king's right shoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and tore the skin and flesh, and afterwards broke the head of a gentleman's pistol. It is more easy to conceive than express what a sudden consternation this unexpected accident struck into all that were about the king. On the other side, the enemy seeing some disorder among those that attended King William, concluded presently he was killed; which false report flew very soon to Dublin, and from thence spread as far as Paris, where the giddy multitude expressed their joy by bonfires and illuminations. King William, having got his wound dressed, mounted again on horseback, and

and shewed himself to the whole army, to dissipate their just alarm.

The two armies being thus in fight, and cannonading one another, King William, about nine at night, having called a council of war, declared his resolution to pass the river the next day, which Duke Schomberg at first opposed, but, finding his majesty positive, he advised that part of the army, horse and foot, should be sent that night towards Slane-bridge, in order to pass the river thereabouts, and so get between the enemy and the pass at Duleck: but, it being afterwards opposed by the Dutch generals, Duke Schomberg retired to his tent, where not long after the order of battle was brought him, which he received with discontent and indifference, saying, "It was the first that ever was sent to him."

Lieutenant-general Douglas was to command the right wing of foot, and Count Maynard de Schomberg the horse, who were to march on early toward Slane-bridge, and other fords up the river, to flank the enemy, or get between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, whilst in the mean time a body of foot were to force their way at the pass at Old Bridge.

On the other side, the late King James having also called a council, Lieutenant-general Hamilton advised his majesty to send a party of dragoons to the ford that was below the town of Drogheda, which the English knew not of, or else did not regard; and all the rest, being eight regiments, towards the bridge of Slane; but James said he would send fifty dragoons up the river, which justly put Hamilton into great amazement, considering the importance of the place to be defended. Towards the close of the evening the cannon ceased on both sides, and King William gave orders, that every soldier should be provided with a good stock of ammunition, and all to be ready to march by break of day with every man a green bough in his hat, to distinguish them from those of the enemy, who wore pieces

of

of white paper. The word that night being Westminster, his majesty rode in person about twelve o'clock at night, with torches, quite through the army, and then retired to his tent, with eager expectation of the glorious approaching day.

The expected day being come, July 1, 1690, about six in the morning, Lieutenant-general Douglas marched towards the right with some foot, as did Count Schomberg with the horse; which the enemy observing, they drew out their horse and foot towards the left, to oppose them. King William's right wing was at first ordered to pass all at Slane, but, upon better information from the guides, several regiments were commanded to go over at other fords, between the camp and that place. When the horse approached the river, a regiment of the enemy's dragoons made a show of opposing their passage; but, being soon forced to retire with loss, the English got over, and advanced towards the enemy's main body, which they found drawn up in two lines. Thereupon Douglas drew up his detachment in two lines also, but, having but six battalions of foot to twenty-four of horse, he sent for more of the first, and in the mean time, according to the Earl of Portland's advice, the horse and foot were intermixed for their greater security. More foot being come up, this figure was immediately altered, and all the horse drawn to the right, whilst the foot moved towards a bog on the left, which lay between them and the enemy, and through which it was impossible for the horse to march. The Irish, observing their motions, retreated in some haste towards Duleck, but were vigorously pursued by Count Schomberg.

Though King William was ignorant of what had passed between his men and the enemy, yet, supposing that by this time they had passed the river, he ordered three attacks to be made: the first at a good ford, before a small village, where the Irish were advantageously posted. The Dutch regiment of foot-guards

took the river first at Old Bridge, wading to the middle; and, being got over amidst the enemy's fire without making halt, they drew up into two files, and then fired upon the Irish, who, not bearing the charge, abandoned their intrenchments. But, before the third battalion of their regiment had passed the ford, five battalions of the enemy advanced very boldly within pistol-shot of the Dutch, who received them so warmly, that they retreated with the loss of some men and one colour: hereupon the Dutch marched beyond the village, and repulsed a squadron of James's horse that would have stopped their progress. At the same time, a squadron of Lieutenant-general Hamilton's horse rode briskly to the very brink of the river, in order to oppose Sir John Hanmore's and Count Nassau's regiments in passing it; and, though they failed in the attempt, yet in their retreat they fell upon the French foot with such undaunted fierceness, that they broke through Caillemote's and Cambon's regiments, which wanted pikes to stem their furious career; but, the Irish wheeling about through the village to recover their own men, they were intercepted by the Dutch and Inniskilling foot, and most of them, after a valiant resistance, cut in pieces. By this time, the Dutch guards being advanced as far as the hedges in the open field, the Irish horse attacked them again with greater numbers, and redoubled fury; but the Dutch remained so firm and close, and other regiments having come to their assistance, that the Irish were forced to retire. Then a fresh squadron of horse advanced to support them, but were as vigorously repulsed by the French Protestants Inniskilling men. In the first of these onsets, M. la Caillemote received his mortal wound; and, as he was carrying back by four soldiers to the English camp, he encouraged those that crossed the river by these words, *À la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire*; "To glory, friends, to glory."

In the mean time the Danes came up to the left, as did the brigades of Hanmore and La Mellionere on the right: the first were so valiantly attacked in the front by Hamilton's horse, that they were forced to give ground, and some of them to pass the river again. The Duke of Schomberg perceiving this disorder, and seeing the French Protestants left exposed without a commander, immediately passed the river in order to head them, nor could his grace be persuaded by Mr. Foubert, one of his aids-de-camps, to put on his armour. He was no sooner got on the other side, but he encouraged the French Protestants by this short harangue, *Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs*; "Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors;" pointing to the French Papists in the enemy's army. These words were scarcely out of his mouth, when fifteen or sixteen of James's guards, who returned full speed to their main body after the slaughter of their companions, and whom the French refugees suffered to pass, thinking them to be of their side, fell furiously upon the duke, and gave him two wounds on the head, which, however, were not mortal. Thereupon the regiment of Cambon acknowledged their error by committing a greater; for, firing rashly on the enemy, they shot the duke through the neck, of which wound he instantly died, and Mr. Foubert was shot through the arm in alighting to relieve him. Not long before, Dr. Walker, so famous for the defence of Londonderry, received a wound in the belly, which he survived but a few moments.

King William, during all these actions, might be said to be every where, since he directed all by his conduct; but now his courage must also have a share in the honour of the day. His majesty, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, passed the river with the left wing of horse, but with some difficulty, for his horse being bogged, he was forced to alight while his attendants disengaged his steed. As soon as the men were got upon

upon the opposite bank, and put in order, his majesty drew his sword (though the wound he received the day before made it uneasy to wield it), and marched at the head of them towards the enemy, who were coming on in good order towards the English foot, that had now got over the pass, and were advancing very bravely towards the Irish, though they were double their number. When these two bodies had got almost within musket-shot of each other, the enemy happened to perceive the left wing of the English horse moving towards them, at which they made a sudden halt, faced about, and retreated up the hill again to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the pass. The English marching in good order came up with them at this village, where the enemy resuming courage faced about, and made the English horse shrink, though they had the king at their head. Upon which the king rode to the Inniskilliners, and asked them, "what they would do for him?" who, animated by this invitation, boldly came forward, and at the head of them the king received the enemy's fire; but, on wheeling to the left to fetch up his own men again, the Inniskilliners through a mistake retired after him above a hundred yards. This made the king move to the left, to put himself at the head of such troops as were advancing: while in the mean time the Inniskilliners, growing sensible of their error, went on again successfully to the charge. In this place the Duke of Schomberg's regiment of horse, being composed of French Protestants, and strengthened by treble the ordinary number of officers, behaved themselves with undaunted resolution; like men that fought for a nation amongst whom themselves and their friends had found a kind and bountiful shelter against the persecution of France.

At the same time another party, commanded by Lieutenant-general Ginkle, charged in a lane to the left, but was soon overpowered by the Irish and forced

to give way. This being observed by a party of Sir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of Colonel Levifon's, the officers ordered to alight and line a hedge, as also a ruined house that flanked the lane, from whence they poured in their fire upon the enemy. Ginckle continued in the rear of his men endeavouring to make them stand their ground, which put him in some danger from the English dragoons; for, the enemy being so close, they could not well observe him. However, the dragoons did an excellent piece of service in stopping the career of the enemy; and the Dutch horse having the opportunity of rallying here, as they did to the right, the enemy, after half an hour's sharp dispute, were beaten back again with considerable loss. On the other side, Lieutenant-general Hamilton, finding his foot did not answer his expectation, put himself at the head of his horse, which were likewise routed, and himself taken prisoner. When brought to the king, his majesty asked him, Whether the Irish would fight any more? "Yes, sir, (replied Hamilton,) upon my honour I believe they will." When he pronounced the word honour, the king looked sternly on him, and then turned about repeating once or twice 'your honour;' intimating, that what he assured upon his honour was not to be depended upon, since he had forfeited that before by siding with Tyrconnel; yet this was all the rebuke the king gave him.

Whilst these things were taking place, Count Schomberg, who by this time was informed of his father's death, pursued the enemy with that fury which a noble resentment inspires, and drove them several miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground with slaughtered foes; nor did he resist gratifying his revenge till Lord Portland, by the king's express command, obliged him to return to the place where the foot made a halt, and remained under arms all night.

King William had no reason to regard what Hamilton had told him, for that general was no sooner taken, but

but the fight ceased on that side; and Count Lauzun, making up to James, (who during the whole action had stood with some squadrons of horse upon the hill called Dunmore,) represented to him how near he was being enveloped: adding, he ought to think of nothing but a retreat, which he doubted not to make good with many brave officers now about him, and the remains of his French and Swiss troops. This advice was too wholesome not to be followed by a prince whose age and temper did not suffer him to end his days by despair; and therefore, attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched off to Duleck, and thence in great haste to Dublin; whilst Count Lauzun, Sheldon, and some other officers, disposed all things for a retreat, which they performed in very good order.

James's whole loss in this battle was generally computed at fifteen hundred men, amongst whom were Lord Dongan, Lord Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, Marquis d'Hocquincourt, with several prisoners; the chief of whom was Lieutenant-general Hamilton, a man that behaved with great courage, and kept victory doubtful till he was made prisoner. On the English side fell about five hundred, an inconsiderable number, considering the gain of so important a battle, if the renowned Duke of Schomberg had not been among them; but his loss seemed to outweigh all the numbers of the enemy. He had been long a soldier of fortune, and fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years: and he died aged eighty-two. As for the king himself, he received no manner of hurt in the action, though he was in all the height of it; only a cannon-ball carried away a piece of his boot. His majesty did all the greatest of generals could do on such an occasion: he chose the field, disposed the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy several times,

times, supported his forces when they began to shrink, and demeaned himself throughout with that conduct, gallantry, resolution, and presence of mind, and was such a poise for inclining the victory to his own side, that the Irish themselves said, "That if the English would change kings with them they would fight the battle over again."

James being arrived at Dublin, and having immediately assembled the magistrates and council of the city, made a speech to them; and, after remaining there that night, he set off the next morning for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis, and arrived there the same day, taking care to have the bridges broken down behind him, for fear of being pursued. There he went on-board a vessel called the Count de Lauzun, that was ready to receive him; but, being met at sea by the Sieur Foran, the commander of the squadron, he desired him to come on-board his frigate that he might have a quicker passage to France, where he soon arrived, and fixed his residence at St. Germain's. So soon as James was gone, all the considerable Papists fled from Dublin, and the Protestants were released, who possessed themselves of the militia-arms, and, with the assistance of the bishops of Meath and Limerick, formed a committee to take care of things, and sent letters to King William giving an account of what had passed, and humbly praying his majesty to honour the city with his presence.

Eight days after William had sailed for Ireland, M. Tourville, with seventy-eight great ships of war, appeared off Plymouth; with this fleet sailed twenty-two fire-ships, and a great number of frigates. Herbert, now created Lord Torrington, was then at St. Helen's, with only thirty-four ships of war; a fleet under Admiral Russel having been sent to Spain and the Mediterranean, only part of which was at that time returned: the king likewise had several ships with him in Ireland, and a very small part of the Dutch squadron had

had as yet joined the English. The position of the French fleet cut off all reinforcements which the English might otherwise have received from the westward, and, without some accession of force, it appeared temerity to come to an action. The admiral, thus circumstanced, called a council of war, in which it was agreed to avoid fighting. The queen, who was regent during the absence of the king her husband, was immediately informed of the state of the two fleets, and of the resolution which had been formed by the British officers. The French fleet proceeded through the channel, and, when they had passed St. Helen's, Torrington put to sea, and kept the enemy in sight, still keeping his own fleet in shore, in order to prevent a descent being made; and, in case he should be compelled to fight, that the superior force of the French might be of less avail, from being exerted in a narrow sea.

During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, the contrariety of whose sentiments frequently produced great embarrassment in determining upon public measures. The foreign invasion which now threatened her kingdom, had been undertaken in consequence of a confederacy which had been formed by the Jacobites at home, which plot, to subvert the established constitution, and to restore the abdicated monarch, had just then been discovered. In this alarming posture of affairs, when the greatest firmness and self-possession were required to withstand the attacks of open and concealed enemies, the queen experienced additional perturbations of mind, from her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life. Nevertheless she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. She referred the opinion of the council of war to Admiral Russel, the only member of the cabinet-council who was by profession a seaman, and who was just then returned from an expedition

pedition up the straits. By this time advice was received of sixteen Dutch ships having joined the English fleet. Ruffel took advantage of this incident, and, either from the contempt of French naval force, natural to an English officer, or in order to remove the only rival that stood in his way to the supreme command of the navy, gave a decisive opinion, that Torrington, with his force, ought to fight the French. Nor were weighty arguments wanting to support his opinion: the superiority of English and Dutch ships and seamen over those of France; the consciousness of that superiority in the seamen, which always animates men to perform wonders; the disgrace to the new government, if it should yield the empire of the sea in its own channel; the dread that the French fleet, if suffered to proceed on its course, would pass through the channel, and enter the Thames, where they might spread devastation more widely than the Dutch had done twenty-three years before, and even shake the metropolis itself with their armament. If the English fleet should beat that of France, a train of happy consequences would ensue: it would remove the dread of foreign invasion and domestic sedition; it would save the ports of England, and the transports attending the king, the last of which were now cut off from all aid, except that which was to be found in the victory of the fleet, being exposed to the fire-ships and frigates of the French. On the other hand, the consequences which might be expected to follow a defeat, were not so alarming as those from a victory were decisively advantageous. As the combined fleet was on the English coasts, the seamen might run the ships into harbours where they might be protected from the enemy. The posture of affairs required a vigorous exertion; and the queen sent positive orders to Torrington to engage.

The order arrived when the fleet was off Beachy-head on the coast of Sussex. Torrington had kept in sight of the French fleet some days; but their admiral,

convinced of the judicious dispositions which the English had made, proceeded cautiously, and had not ventured to attack them. When the queen's orders arrived, Torrington quitted the coast, and advanced into the open sea to attack the enemy on the thirtieth day of June at day-break; who formed in regular order to receive him. The combined fleet consisted of twenty-two Dutch ships and thirty-four English. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, and was commanded by Admiral Evertzen, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour afterwards the blue division of the English squadron was closely engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length the English admiral's division drove between them and the French; and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. In the engagement three of the Dutch fleet were burnt, two of their admirals killed, and almost all the rest of their ships totally disabled. The French pursued their retreating foes as far as Rye, and an English ship of seventy guns, called the Anne, being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire and deserted by the captain's command. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of Bourne and Pevensey in Sussex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry, but her commander defended her so vigorously, that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her in-

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to Holland. The English lost in this unfortunate rencounter two of their ships, as many captains, and captains of marines, together with two hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch, who sustained the weight of the action, were more roughly handled: besides three ships that were sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of Suffex. Their Rear-admirals Dick and Brakel were slain, with one captain, and a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Bishop Burnet observes, that, among the best judges, the Count de Tourville was almost as much blamed for not making use of his victory, as the Earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat.

The English and Dutch retired to the mouth of the Thames, both to defend the city of London, and because in the mouth of that river they could better defend themselves against a force superior to their own.

A general consternation seized the nation upon this melancholy event; however, it tended to strengthen the hands of government, by uniting the different factions in the common cause of self-defence, and inflaming the aversion of the people to nonjurors and jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen, by the Cornish tinnners, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy, of London, full of professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited wonderful proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet; she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the states-general, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington, for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine into his conduct. A

camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded the little village of Tinmouth. About one thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burnt a few coasting vessels; having achieved this magnanimous exploit, they re-embarked, and returned to Brest.

This miscarriage of the combined fleet, joined to a victory which Louis had gained over the allies at Fleury, served to spirit up the Irish malcontents, and to retard the progress of William's arms, in that kingdom. Some advantages, however, were soon after obtained, which did great honour to all concerned. The day after the battle of the Boyne, King William sent Brigadier La Meloniere, with five battalions of foot, and four squadrons of horse, to invest Drogheda. La Meloniere having summoned the place to surrender, the governor treated the message with great contempt, and, at first, seemed determined to make a resolute defence. But receiving notice from King William, "that, if his majesty should be obliged to bring his cannon before the place, he must expect no quarter;" the governor reflecting, that, as King James's army was defeated, it was impossible he could be relieved, thought it would be best to surrender the place upon the conditions offered him. He therefore marched out with the garrison, consisting of three regiments and some odd companies, leaving their arms and stores behind them, and taking with them only their baggage.

On the 21st of July, Rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for Kinsale, to intercept some French frigates, that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford-river, with intention to execute this commission, he received the agreeable news of General Kirke's having made himself master of the town of Waterford; but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon-castle,

which by its situation commanded the river, still held out; and that the general, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford while the castle remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent the general word on the 27th of July that he was ready to assist him, by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron, under the protection of their guns. Accordingly the next day he sent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two small ships, to batter their castle; and, under their fire, landed between six and seven hundred men; all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, tho' to little purpose; but when once General Bourk, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate; and marched out of the castle, with two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty.

King William in the mean time determined to lay siege to Limeric. The Earl of Portland and Brigadier Stewart, were sent towards that place with nine hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot. They advanced within cannon-shot of the town, with little opposition from the enemy. The king, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, Overkirk, Lieutenant-general Ginckle, and several other great officers, followed the above detachment, in the evening to take a view of the posture of the enemy, and the avenues to the town. On the ninth, the whole army decamped at five in the morning, and made their approaches in excellent order, two hundred horse and dragoons, with one thousand chosen foot, leading the van. The country being full of hedges and ditches, the pioneers were immediately employed to cut down the first and
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fill up the latter, which was no sooner done, but the army advanced, and drove the enemy before them till they came to a narrow pass between two bogs, within half a mile of the town, which was not above one hundred and fifty yards, and this besides full of hedges and other incumbrances. In this pass were lanes leading to the town, in the middlemost of which, being the broadest, stood the Irish horse, and, to the right and left of which, the hedges were lined with musqueteers. The detached party of English foot was upon the advance towards the center, the horse a little to the right of them, the Danes to the left, and the Blue-Dutch, with several English regiments, upon the right. Whilst these things were going on thus, the king ordered two field-pieces towards the left, where they could bear upon the enemy's horse, and fired from thence with so good success, that the enemy soon quitted that post. At the same time Colonel Earl led on his foot, who marched with so much bravery, though the enemy made a great fire through the hedge, that they forced them to retire, and continued this hedge-fight for two hours, driving the Irish under the very walls of the town, possessing themselves of two advantageous posts, called Cromwell's fort and the Old Chapel, and being hardly stopped there by the orders his majesty sent them. Thereupon the Irish plied our forces with their great guns, that killed some few men as they marched in, which the whole army did by five in the afternoon, and most of them encamped within cannon-shot. The Danes, according to their post, encamped to the left, where they found an old fort built by their ancestors, of which they were not a little proud, and from whence they fired three or four field-pieces upon the Irish, that lay intrenched between them and the town. Orders were also given to plant four field-pieces on Cromwell's (alias Ireton's) fort, to play upon the town from the outworks. The army being posted, the king sent a trumpeter with a summons

mons to the town. A great many of the garrison were for capitulating ; but Monsieur Boisseleau, the governor, the Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Sarsfield, opposed it with a great deal of heat, saying, there were great divisions, and even an actual insurrection, in England, that the dauphin was landed there with a great army, and that the Prince of Orange would quickly be obliged to withdraw his forces thither. Hereupon Boisseleau sent the trumpeter back with a letter directed to Sir Robert Southwell, secretary of state, importing, " that he was surprised at the summons ; and that he thought the best way to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, was by a vigorous defence of the town, which his master had entrusted him withal." About eight in the evening the king went to his camp, a little mile from the town, having been on horseback from five in the morning, giving the necessary orders, and exposing himself amidst the greatest dangers, which his royal highness the Prince of Denmark shared along with his majesty. The cannon played on both sides, and several of the enemy's shot fell near his majesty's tent, or flew over it. The same evening a party of dragoons was sent to the ford at Annaghberg, about two miles above the town, where six of the enemy's regiments of foot, three of horse, and two of dragoons, were posted on the other side of the river, with a breastwork to cover them, who all fired upon our men, but neither killed nor wounded one of them. The advantage the enemy had was such, that the English expected to have met with great difficulties in passing the river, which is very rapid, and the bottom stony, but, in the night, the Irish abandoned their station ; so that Lieutenant-general Ginckle, who was commanded with a detachment to force his way over it, performed it the next morning, with about five thousand horse and foot, without any opposition. Two or three hours after, the king himself went over the Shannon, and posted there three regiments of foot, with some pieces of cannon.

non. Neither were the besieged idle; for all this while they were raising forts between the assailants and the Irish town; one to the south gate, and the other towards the east, which proved very serviceable to them; though not so great a disadvantage to the English, as the surprising their train of artillery, which was coming up to join the army. Some deserters, and amongst them a gunner, who got into Limeric, having given the enemy an account where the king's tent stood, and of those guns and other things that were upon the road from Kilkenny, under a small guard, they played very briskly towards the king's tent, which his majesty was at last prevailed with to remove. Nor was this all, for, on the 11th one Manus O'Brian, an honest country gentleman, came to the camp, and gave notice, that Sarsfield, with a body of five or six hundred horse and dragoons, had passed the river Shannon in the night, nine miles above Limeric, and designed something extraordinary. He was brought to the king, who, to prevent the worst, gave orders that Sir John Lanier with five hundred horse should march to meet the train. But, wherever the fault lay, it was one or two in the morning before the party set out, and even then they advanced very slowly, till after they saw a great light in the air, and heard a strange rumbling noise, which some justly conjectured was the train blown up. For the artillery having the day before marched beyond Cullen, to a little old ruinous castle called Ballenedy, not seven miles from the camp, Sarsfield lurked all that day in the mountains, and, having notice where and how the men that attended it lay, he took with him guides that brought him to the very spot, where he fell in among them, before they were aware, and cut several of them in pieces, with many of the waggoners, and some country people that were carrying provision to the camp. The noise of this slaughter having awakened the officer that commanded in chief, he ordered his men to get to their horses

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horses that were a grazing, to put themselves in a posture of defence; but most of them that endeavoured to fetch them up were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to shift for themselves, so that there were in all about sixty persons killed. The convoy being thus totally routed, the Irish gathered the carriages, waggon, with the bread and ammunition, and as many of the guns as the shortness of time would permit them, into one heap, and having filled the guns with powder, and placed their mouths into the ground, that they might thereby certainly split, they, at their going off, set fire to the heap, which was blown up into the air, with a most astonishing noise. The Irish got some booty on this occasion, but took no prisoners; only a lieutenant of Colonel Earl's, being sick in a house hard by, was stripped and brought to Sarsfield, who used him with civility, and told him, "if he had not succeeded in that enterprise, he would have gone for France." The party of horse that was sent from the camp came up in sight of the enemy's rear, after the business was over; but, wheeling to the left to intercept them in their retreat over the Shannon, the Irish passed clear another way, and got safe into Limerick. The siege went on, the trenches were opened the 17th, and, some great guns being arrived from Waterford, a battery was raised below the fort, to the right of the trenches, which dismounted some of the enemy's cannon. The same day, the Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-general, Major-generals Kirk and Tetteau, Sir Henry Bellasis, brigadier, with seven battalions entered the trenches, advanced near three hundred paces, and made themselves masters of two redoubts. On the 18th the trenches were relieved by Lieut.-general Douglas, Lord Sidney, and Count Nassau, major-generals, and Brigadier Stewart, who approached towards another strong redoubt of the enemy's. Nor was his majesty less in danger than the

rest, for, in the thickest of the enemy's fire, he rode up to Cromwell's fort, and, as his horse was just entering the gap, he was staid by a gentleman that came to speak him, when in the very moment there came a cannon-ball, that struck in the very place, and covered the king with dust. His majesty took little notice of it, but, alighting, came and laid himself down on the fort. On the 19th, the trenches were relieved by Prince Wirtemberg, who advanced farther towards the said redoubt, which the king ordered to be attacked the 20th. Lieutenant-general Douglas, the Lord Sidney, Count Nassau, and Brigadier Stewart, being then again on the guard, and the signal given about two in the afternoon; the English, to the number of one hundred and fifty, besides officers, and several resolute French volunteers, attacked the fort with undaunted bravery, and, after an obstinate fight, drove out the enemy, killing forty of their number. About half an hour after, the Irish made a great sally, with near two thousand horse and foot, but were vigorously repulsed. The 21st the trenches were carried on and finished, so as to hinder any more sallies. The 22d, the besiegers battered the enemy's high towers, from whence they fired into the trenches, and quite levelled them; and in the night threw several bombs and carcasses into the town, as they did the next day red-hot bullets, which set several houses, and a magazine of hay, on fire. All the batteries being finished the 24th, and thirty pieces of cannon mounted on them, the trenches by the 25th were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch; a breach made in the wall near St. John's gate, and part of the pallisadoes on the counterscarp beaten down, by the 26th.

The engineers having assured the king that there was a sufficient breach, and there being an impossibility to make it wider, for want of bullets, his majesty resolved to take the town by mines, and, in order to that, commanded the covered way, or counterscarp, (which

(which here was almost the same with the ditch,) and two towers or forts that were on each side of the breach, and contiguous to the wall, to be attacked the next day, and that the men should go no farther, but lodge themselves there. Accordingly, Lieutenant-general Douglas detached Monsieur de la Barthe, a brave experienced French lieutenant-colonel, with nine companies of grenadiers, strengthened by a hundred French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack; which was performed with such bravery and success, that the enemy were soon dislodged from the covered way and the two forts. The assailants, pursuing their good fortune, entered the breach pell-mell with the runaways; and Monsieur la Barthe, with some bold adventurers, and above half the Earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, were actually on the ramparts, and others, still more eager than the rest, went into the very place. This action had been decisive, if the engineers had made a lodgement in time, or if Count Solmes and Count Nassau would have suffered the detachment, that were to second the grenadiers to go farther than the counterscarp; for the Irish were all running from the walls quite over the bridge into the English town, but, seeing that few of the English had entered the town, they rallied again, faced the assailants, and plied them so warmly, that several of them were killed, and many mortally wounded. Elevated with this success, the Irish ventured upon the breach again, and the resoluteness of their women was so great, that they incessantly pelted the English with stones, broken bottles, and all such other instruments of destruction. The men for their part could not for shame be less valorous, inso-much that after three hours unequal fighting, the English were forced to retire to their trenches. But this was not all, for, during the heat of this action, a Brandenburg regiment being with great bravery got upon the enemy's black battery, the powder happened to take fire, which blew up a great many of them. Besides,

sides, though Colonel Cuts, who was commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg to march towards the Spur, at the south gate, beat in the Irish that appeared on that side, yet he lost several of his men, and was himself wounded; for, he boldly advancing within half musket-shot of the gate, all the men were exposed to the enemy's shot, who lay secure within the spur and the walls. The French protestants, the Dutch and the Danes, behaved themselves very gallantly at their respective posts; and the whole action, which lasted from three till seven, was very brisk every where, and cost the besiegers six hundred men killed upon the spot, and as many mortally wounded. This disappointment, and the approaching ill weather, occasioned the raising of the siege of Limeric; for on the 30th of August the heavy baggage and cannon were sent away, and the next day the army decamped and marched off towards Clonmell. His majesty embarked at Duncannon fort, with Prince George of Denmark, and some other persons of distinction, on the fifth of September, and arrived safe the next day in the King's-road near Bristol, and on the ninth at Windsor.

The triumph of the Irish was only momentary. On King William's return to England, a council was held on the affairs of Ireland, whose great cities, and most of its convenient ports, still adhered to the abdicated prince. The Earl of Marlborough proposed to the board a plan for its effectual reduction: he observed, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest; which removed all apprehensions of a descent upon England; he therefore proposed that five thousand troops should be forthwith embarked on-board the fleet for Ireland. The king and council approved the measure, and the Earl of Marlborough was invested with the command of the troops; at the same time orders were dispatched to the admirals to assemble the great ships at Chatham, and take on-board the land-forces.

The

The city of Cork was a place of strength, from the works which had been lately erected under the direction of French engineers; and it was at that time defended by a garrison of four thousand men. Marlborough, however, whose penetrating eye could mark a defect which lay concealed from common observation, had discovered a station which rendered the works of little avail: he pledged himself to become master of that city, and of Kinsale, before winter, notwithstanding the season was so far advanced. The admirals hoisted their flag on-board the Kent, a third-rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, appeared before Cork the 21st of September. Marlborough was joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg, at the head of four thousand Danes; but that prince claimed an equality in command, although a younger officer in rank, and bringing with him only auxiliary forces, because he was a sovereign prince. The English general, with that politeness which was ever a strong feature in his character, acquiesced in this arrogant claim. It was agreed, that each should command every alternate day. Marlborough commanded first, when, to shew his superiority over his rival, equally in politeness as in condescension, he gave out, for the word of the day, "Wirtemberg." The prince, highly gratified by this mark of respect, when he took the command, gave, for the word of the day, "Marlborough." This circumstance, in itself a trifle, cemented a union between the two commanders, and removed all rivalry, except that which arose from their endeavours, who should most contribute to the success of the enterprize. The fleet stormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded both the harbour and the town. From the station which Marlborough remarked, the troops made a breach in the walls, when, being protected by the fire of the batteries, and two bomb-vessels, they forded the river up to the arm-pits to mount the breach. When the soldiers were ready to assail the walls, the

garrison surrendered at discretion, after the siege had continued only four days. In this attack the Duke of Grafton, who commanded a detachment of the fleet, received a wound in the shoulder, of which he died a few days after. Captain Matthew Tenant, who succeeded him in the command, was blown up in the Breda, in Cork harbour; Captain Crofts then took the command, which he retained throughout the expedition.

The day after the surrender of Cork, Marlborough sent Brigadier Villers, with five hundred horse, to summon Kinsale. The governor hereupon set fire to the old town, and retired to the two forts. On the 30th of September the siege began. Two days after, one of the forts was taken by storm. The governor was then again summoned to surrender: he replied, "It would be time enough to talk of that a month hence." On the fifth of October the trenches were opened, and in ten days the counterscarp being gained, every thing was adjusted for a general assault. To prevent which, the garrison, consisting of fifteen hundred men, capitulated, and were conducted to Limeric. The victorious general returned to London on the 28th of the same month. The nation received him with acclamations; and it was remarked, that an English officer had done more in a month, than all the foreign generals had achieved in two campaigns. Indeed, the Earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumstances considered, was, beyond comparison, the most successful undertaking in the whole reign of King William; and the reduction of Cork was such an instance of penetration as the king never forgot.

Ireland, however, was not thoroughly reduced till next year. William had committed the forces in that kingdom to General Ginkell; with orders to make an end of the war at any rate; and, to enable him to do this, his army was furnished with recruits and stores, and an unlimited pardon was tendered to all who would
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J. Chapman sc.

GENERAL GINKLE.

Published as the Act directs 1 May 1729



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ask the benefit of it. James sent over St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself in the wars against the Protestants in France, and to him he gave the command of the Irish army; but he, being in want of money, stores, and provisions, resolved on a war of defence; he reinforced the garrisons of the strong towns situated on the Shannon, and encamped his army at Athlone. Ginkell, having reduced Ballymore, advanced against the Irish army. Athlone consisted of two towns, one on the eastern the other on the western shore of the Shannon. The town on the higher side of the river was taken sword in hand; and notwithstanding the enemy in their retreat had broken down an arch of the bridge, which rendered it impossible to pass over it to the opposite side, yet the river was forded at a little distance, although it was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion, erected for that purpose. Never was a more desperate service undertaken, nor was ever exploit performed with greater courage and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. The Irish, appalled by such boldness, quitted the town with the utmost precipitation; and, in an hour after the first man had entered the river, the place was entirely evacuated, and in the possession of the English, who performed this desperate enterprise with the loss of no more than fifty men. St. Ruth was informed by express that the English had entered the river, but he treated it as a chimera, saying, it was impossible they should attempt to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistoles if they would attempt to force a passage. Being soon convinced of the truth of the information, he marched his army to the relief of the town, but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, the night following he struck his tents, and, marching ten miles, took post at Antrim, whither
Ginkell

Ginkeli soon followed him. The Irish army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, the English were no more than eighteen thousand. On the 12th of July a desperate engagement was fought, where, notwithstanding the superiority of the Irish, both as to ground and numbers, their general, St. Ruth, being killed with a cannon-ball, the troops fled, and a dreadful carnage ensued, seven thousand being slain in the action and pursuit, whilst this decisive action was obtained by the English with the loss of only seven hundred men. The remains of the routed army retired to Limeric, the only place of strength in the kingdom which adhered to the cause of James. On the 25th of August, 1691, Ginkell sat down before the town. On the 4th of October following, the town capitulated. As it was the desire of government to conciliate as much as possible the affections of the Irish, very advantageous conditions were granted them. A general pardon was extended to all the Irish then in Ireland who had taken up arms in the cause of James, their estates and effects were restored to them, and their attainders and outlawries reversed; and all such as chose to quit their country and retire to France were freely permitted to do it, and themselves and their effects conveyed thither at the expence of the English government. No less than fourteen thousand Irish are said to have embraced this opportunity, quitting, with a savage fury and joy, their native land, and consenting to become, for ever, the subjects of a foreign power. Such was the substance of the famous treaty of Limeric, which the Irish Roman catholics consider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. A few days after the capitulation, a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with thirty thousand arms, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition, arrived upon the coast, to the great mortification of the vanquished Irish, who would have been enabled, by such assistance, to have protracted the war at least through another

ther summer. Baron Ginkell, on his return to England, received the thanks of the house of commons for his great services, and was created Lord Aggrim and Earl of Athlone, in commemoration of his services, and of the places in which he had performed them. The capitulation of Limeric put an end to the Irish war, and made King William, at length, master of his three kingdoms.

It was now thought proper to make an enquiry into the cause of the miscarriage of the grand fleet under Torrington, of which we have spoken in p. 351, &c. The honour of the nation had been thereby wounded, and a general clamour prevailed against the earl; and the queen had engaged her promise to the Dutch, that his conduct should undergo a strict enquiry. On the other hand, the earl had been very instrumental in bringing about the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had brought over many to believe, that, instead of his being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of foreigners, merely for having preserved the English fleet. The king gave orders, that the admiral should be tried by a court-martial; but the friends of the earl maintained that he ought to be tried by his peers. It was objected, that, as the office of lord high-admiral was vested by commission in the lords of the admiralty, he could be tried by a court-martial sitting under their authority; for, though it was allowed, that the Lord High-admiral of England might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned, whether any such authority was lodged in the commissioners of the admiralty; and, although some great lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to settle so important a point by authority of parliament. In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commissioners of the admiralty; upon which a court-martial was appointed to

try the Earl of Torrington, who was, at that time, indisposed in the Tower. On the 10th of December the court assembled on-board the Kent frigate at Sheerness; Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being president. Torrington's defence was animated and strong, suited to the pride of the man. He observed, that, in the several councils of war held before the fight, not only himself, but all who were present, thought it unadvisable to engage the French. He descanted on the order given by the queen, which compelled him to fight, against the unanimous opinion of his officers, and without any probability of success. He laid great stress on the inequality of the confederate and French fleets; the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He asserted, that the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness; and that, if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded, in the same manner as that division of it was. It having been insinuated, that he had failed in supporting the Dutch, to gratify a pique which he had against them, he dwelt with great energy on that charge, and pleaded, that his conduct had saved the English fleet; and that he hoped an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentment. He reminded his judges of the wounds they had seen him receive: he pointed to the socket of the eye which he had lost in the cause of his country. His lordship was unanimously acquitted by the court. The king however dismissed him his service, and would never again admit him to his presence. Still farther to express his disgust, he advanced Admiral Russel, his rival and enemy, to the command of the fleet.

In the beginning of the year 1692, an action of unexampled barbarity disgraced the government of William in Scotland. In the preceding August, in consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation

clamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen, on or before the last day of December. The chiefs of the few tribes who had been in arms for James complied soon after with the proclamation: but Macdonald of Glenco failed in submitting within the limited time; more, however, from accident than design. In the end of December he came to Col. Hill, who commanded the garrison in fort William, to take the oaths of allegiance to the government. Hill having furnished Macdonald with a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, sheriff of the county of Argyle, directed him to repair immediately to Inverary, to make his submission in a legal manner before that magistrate. The way to Inverary lay through almost impassable mountains: the season was extremely rigorous, and the whole country covered with a deep snow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths before the limited time should expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own house, he would not stop to visit his family. After various obstructions, he arrived at Inverary. The time was elapsed, and the sheriff hesitated to receive his submission; but Macdonald prevailed on him by his importunities, and even tears. Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, attended King William as secretary of state for Scotland. He took advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time prescribed, and procured from the king a warrant of military execution against him and his whole tribe. As a mark of his own eagerness, or to save Dalrymple, William signed the warrant, both above and below, with his own hand. The secretary, in letters expressive of a brutal ferocity of mind, urged the officers who commanded in the Highlands to execute their orders with the utmost rigour. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in Argyle's regiment, and two subalterns, were ordered with a hundred and twenty men to repair to Glenco on the first of February. Campbell, being

uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with all manner of friendship and hospitality. The men were treated in the houses of his tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment. Till the 13th of the month the troops lived in good humour and familiarity with the people. The officers on the very night of the massacre passed the evening and played at cards at Macdonald's house. In the night, Lieutenant Linfay, with a party of soldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door. He was instantly admitted. Macdonald, as he was rising to receive his guest, was shot dead behind his back with two bullets. His wife had already put on her clothes; but she was stripped naked by the soldiers, who tore the rings off her fingers with their teeth. The slaughter was become general. To prevent the pity of the soldiers to their hosts, their quarters had been changed the night before. Neither age nor infirmity was spared. Some women, in defending their children, were killed. Boys, imploring mercy, were shot by officers on whose knees they hung. In one place, nine persons, as they sat enjoying themselves at table, were shot dead by the soldiers. At Inveriggen, in Campbell's own quarters, nine men were first bound by the soldiers, and then shot at intervals, one by one. Near forty persons were massacred by the troops. Several who fled to the mountains perished by famine and the inclemency of the season. Those who escaped owed their lives to a tempestuous night. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march with four hundred men, to guard all the passes from the valley of Glenco; but was obliged to stop by the severity of the weather, which proved the safety of the unfortunate tribe. He entered the valley next day; laid all the houses in ashes; and carried away all the cattle and spoil, which were divided among the officers and soldiers.

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It can scarcely be imagined that a massacre attended with such circumstances of treachery and breach of the laws of hospitality, could pass without some animadversion; though the expressions of Cunningham, a writer very partial to the character of King William, seem to account it a fault that it should ever have been inquired into. "Mr. James Johnstone, one of the secretaries of state (says he), from motives of revenge, caused the affair of Glenco to be laid before parliament. This, being somewhat disingenuously managed, was the occasion of much trouble to many people. The Earl of Breadalbane was committed to the castle of Edinburgh: but the Lord Viscount Stair, who lay under some suspicion on that account, in a very artful speech, endeavoured to resolve the whole matter into a misapprehension of dates; which, he alleged, had led both the actor in the slaughter complained of, and those who now accused him, into mistakes. In conclusion he affirmed, that neither the king nor any other person was to be blamed, save only the misled captain, who did not rightly understand the orders that had been given him." The most disgraceful circumstances of the massacre are by the same author concealed; as he only tells us, that "it unhappily fell out, that the whole clan of Glenco, being somewhat too late in making their submission to King William, were put to the sword by the hands and orders of Captain Campbell; which gave great offence to the king. It is certain the king had cause of resentment against some of his courtiers on account of this foul action; but he thought fit not to question them for it till he could settle himself more firmly on the throne."

The total reduction of Ireland, and the dispersion and extermination of the Highland chieftains who favoured his cause, did not entirely put an end to the hopes of James. His chief expectations next were founded on a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours promised him by the French king.

A plot was first formed in Scotland by Sir James Montgomery; a person who, from being an adherent to William, now turned against him; but, as the project was ill contrived, so it was as lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was managed by the whig party, who were the most formidable in the state. A number of these joined themselves to the tories, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together: and the result of their deliberation was, that the restoration of James was to be effected entirely by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes; who, because they were of the protestant religion, would, it was thought, remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners: it was concerted that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over to France two trusty persons to consult with the banished monarch: and Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the two persons appointed for this embassy. Both of them, however, were seized when they least expected it, by order of Lord Caermarthen. Both were condemned; and Ashton was executed without making any confession; but Lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of pardon, he discovered a great number of associates; among whom the Duke of Ormond, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Clarendon, were foremost.

The French at last became sensible of their bad policy in not having better supported the cause of James, and therefore resolved to make a descent upon England in his favour. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scots refugees, and the Irish regiments, which had been transported
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into France from Limeric, and were now become excellent soldiers by long discipline and severe duty. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and commanded by King James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the opposite coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in case they should oppose him; so that every thing promised the banished king a change of fortune.

These designs were not long unknown to William, and immediately every step was taken to oppose and counteract them. The naval force of England and Holland was collected in their respective ports, and cruisers sent out to observe every motion made in those of France. All the ships at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones, of the largest size, were built, and with so much dispatch, that one of them, of one hundred and six guns, went to sea the tenth day after she was launched. The command of both navies was committed to Admiral Russel.

Thus, during the spring, the three greatest maritime powers of the world exerted every nerve of naval strength, and the rest of Europe stood amazed, and anxiously expected the event of an expedition, which probably would determine, in whose hands the dominion of the sea should be afterwards lodged.

Several English regiments were recalled from Flanders, whilst others, that had been ordered there, were stopped on their march. The militia was raised all over the kingdom; many suspected persons were secured, proclamations issued against others, and all papists removed ten miles from London: a camp was marked out between Petersfield and Portsmouth: orders were given to drive the cattle fifteen miles up the country, upon the sight of a French fleet: Scotland was put into the best state of defence. Ireland alone

was

was left to its fate, because it was not thought advisable to take any steps for disarming the natives, or give any other signs of doubt about their loyalty.

The conduct of Russel, in this season of intrigue, appeared full of duplicity; nor can it be settled, even at this distance of time, whether he really entered into the views of James; or, by pretending an attachment to him, meant the more effectually to serve the reigning prince, by disclosing the designs that were forming against him; or that, by keeping fair with both parties, he meant to serve himself, whichever should be successful. In the correspondence which he held with James, he entreated him to prevent the two fleets of England and France from meeting, and frankly declared, that, as an officer and an Englishman, it behoved him to fire upon the first French ship that came in his way, even though he should see that prince himself upon the quarter deck. One circumstance is extremely remarkable in the transactions which we are now relating, which is, that, whilst James distrusted the sincerity of the men on whose assurances he proceeded, William employed some, of whose insincerity he had intelligence. That the king had very good intelligence of his father-in-law's affairs is plain, from his behaviour to Lord Godolphin after the designs of France had been frustrated. He upbraided that nobleman with corresponding with the late king; who peremptorily denied it: the king thereupon put a letter into his hand which Godolphin had written to James, and which had been stolen from that prince's cabinet; desiring him, at the same time, to reflect on the treachery of those in whom he confided, and the moderation of him he meant to betray. This generous conduct ought to have attached the minister ever after to his master. Although Marlborough, who had been before dismissed from his employments, was, about this time, sent to the tower, yet, not long after, he was restored to his posts, and entrusted with very important services.

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J. Chapman Sculp^r

ADMIRAL LORD RUSSEL.

Published as the Act directs Feb^r 1.^o 1707.

Louis, elated with the dissensions which prevailed in England, and which were represented to him as far more favourable to his designs than they really were, sent orders to Count Tourville, who had the command of the grand fleet at Brest, to sail immediately, before he was joined by the Toulon Squadron, under Count d'Estree, and fight the English fleet, in order to clear the way for the transports which were to follow him. There were then two considerable English squadrons at sea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, who was employed to escort a fleet of merchantmen home from the Mediterranean; the other under Rear-admiral Carter, which lay between the Isle of Jersey and the French coast. The Dutch fleet was still in harbour, and Russel, with the great body of the English fleet, still lay in the river. Tourville made repeated efforts to sail out of Brest, but was as often driven back. Russel was indefatigable in forming a junction of the whole strength of both states. He therefore plied it down through the sands with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet, to this bold stroke of the admiral, was owing all his following success. On the 8th of May the fleet anchored safe off Rye; proceeding from thence to St. Helen's, he was there joined, on the 13th, by Sir Ralph Delaval and Rear-admiral Carter, and their squadrons. The Dutch fleet coming up soon after, the important junction was happily effected, whereupon James's agents in England sent notice of this event to the French court, and orders were dispatched from Paris to countermand Tourville's sailing. But these orders came too late; the fleet had already quitted the harbour, and were stretched out to sea.

The combined fleets of England and Holland formed a naval force greater than had ever covered the ocean; but it was much suspected in England, that se-

veral of the officers were disaffected, and meant to betray the cause which they professed to defend. The queen, who was then regent, directed Lord Nottingham to write to the admiral to assure him, that the queen would change none of her officers, and that she imputed the reports that had been made against them to the contrivance of her enemies and of theirs. Upon this the flag-officers and captains signed a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on-board the *Britannia* at St. Helen's, May 15, which was presented by the lords of the admiralty to the queen, and inserted in the *Gazette*, with this judicious and gracious answer. "I always had such an opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come to satisfy others."

On the 18th of May the combined fleets sailed. The French fleet, of about fifty ships of the line, was at that time at sea in quest of the English, and was descried next day, at three o'clock in the morning, about seven leagues from Barfleur. As the French were many leagues to the windward, they might easily have avoided an engagement; and all the flag-officers advised Tourville to retire: but he rushed on. Russel's motions filled him for some time with hopes: for Russel's fleet was not in order until eight o'clock; he lay by with his fore top-sail to the mast until twelve o'clock, and allowed the enemy to come within half a musket-shot of him, before he flung out the bloody flag. During this interval, the bold advance of Tourville, with so unequal a force, together with the tardiness of Russel, raised doubts and anxieties in many of the English captains: they looked round to see when their own officers were to rise up against them, or when the ships next to theirs were to quit the line, and sail over to their enemies.

Tourville, who was in the *Royal Sun*, carrying one hundred and four guns, the finest ship in Europe, passing all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Russel, and bore down upon him.

him. But, by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking, that an English admiral could, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one. Yet, though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was ashamed to abandon a situation, which his officers had in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals, and the captains, disdaining to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The engagement between the two admirals ships lasted an hour and a half, and then Tourville was towed off, being obliged to retire by the damage which he had sustained in his rigging; but five French ships instantly closed in, and saved him. The battle, in the mean time, went on, in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and, at other times, snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Alemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey; and a thick fog, at four o'clock in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours the fog cleared up. It was then observed, that Tourville, instead of repairing his rigging, had withdrawn to the rear, and the French line was broke in many other places. Russel, certain that Tourville would not have retired unless it had been resolved that his fleet was to fly, made a signal to chase from all quarters, without any regard to order. In one of the engagements during this chase, Rear-admiral Carter was killed, giving orders, with his last breath, to the officer next in command, to fight the ship as long as she could swim: a proof either that his correspondence with James had been maintained with a view to deceive him, or that the last passion in an Englishman's breast

is the love of his country. The running engagement of the afternoon was, like the regular one of the forenoon, interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by a calm, and in the end it was closed by darkness.

During the night, the two fleets off the shallow coast of France anchored close to each other; yet the impetuosity of some English officers carried their ships through the French fleet; and Sir Cloudefly Shovel, with his division, had got between Tourville's squadron and the rest of the French fleet: so that the ships of the three nations lay intermingled with each other during the night, waiting for the morning with impatience, uncertain whether they were amongst friends or foes, and judging of their distances from other ships, only by the signals of distress which they heard, or the flames of the ships which were on fire.

The arrival of the morning brought on a renewal of the chase. But the French fleet was now reduced to thirty-four ships; four of which had taken fire in the engagement, being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized by no engagement, but by a spectacle far more important, that of the English fleet driving the French one along their own coasts, and in the sight of innumerable crowds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French, in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of sixteen ships, which were coming to join them: but these ships, perceiving the fate of their friends, turned to flight, and shared in that disgrace which they could not avert. Fogs, calms, tides, and the veering of winds, saved France from the vengeance of England and Holland for one day.

Upon the third day, Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, with his two seconds, one of ninety, and the other of eighty-four, guns, together with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast, near Cherburg, and eighteen more of the largest ships followed their example, near La Hogue; the rest, being more fortunate, drove through the race of Alderney. Ruffel

ordered

ordered the main body of the fleet, under Sir John Ashby, to pursue that of the enemy; left Sir Ralph Delaval, with one squadron, to destroy the ships at Cherbourg; and stationed himself, with another, to confine those which were at La Hogue. As the art of sailing was not so much improved then as it has been since, Ashby durst not pursue enemies who pointed him the way through a passage, which another admiral, with a squadron and a great fleet of transports, went through, in our time, with ease, and without the flying sails of an enemy to direct him. But Delaval, next day, burnt the three ships, together with the frigates, at Cherbourg.

And now, upon the fifth day, some of Delaval's ships having advanced, and some of Ashby's having returned to join Russel's squadron, Russel made preparations to destroy the enemy's ships at La Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having, the day before, in the hurry and confusion, made their escape eastward. The French had employed all the interval of time, which Russel had left them since their ships had taken refuge, in making provisions to defend them. The ships themselves were drawn up as far upon the shallows as tides and cables could bring them: they were covered with the forts De Lisset and De La Hogue; platforms were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army; numbers of chaloups, filled with officers and men, lined the shoals; behind stood all the French army ready drawn up; and, upon a height between the ships and the army, King James, the Duke of Berwick, Marechal Bellefonde, Tourville, and other great land and sea officers, placed themselves to behold the action, and to give their orders. All precautions were taken, except one which James had suggested, and which was the best: for, when he saw the French seamen disheartened by defeat, flight, pursuit, and the necessity of taking refuge, he foretold, that no good could be expected from them; and advised, but in vain, that a number of the regiments,

ments, and of the artillery-men, should be put on-board the ships, where they could fight with the same steadiness as if they had been in land-castles, because the ships were aground.

Russel gave the charge of the attack to Vice-admiral Rooke: who advanced with several men of war, frigates, and fire-ships, together with all the boats of the fleet. But he soon found, that the men of war could not get within reach; that the frigates could only advance so far as to cover the attack; and that the whole service depended upon the boats. In this situation he gave only a general order for the boats to advance, surround the enemy's ships, and board and burn where best they could; leaving all the rest to the spirit of the seamen. The seamen strove with each other whose barge should be foremost, and singled out the particular ships they were to attack, according to their fancy, and sometimes as a merry mood directed them. They made use of their oars alone as they advanced, without firing upon the platforms, the chaloups, or the vessels aground: so soon as they got to the sides of the ships, throwing away their musquets, they gave three huzzas, and scrambled up the heights above them, with their cutlasses in their hands, and many without arms at all. Some cut the rigging; others set fire to the vessel; others pointed out the guns of the ships against their own chaloups, platforms, and forts. Few assaulted the mariners within, because they accounted the ships to be their only foes. From this circumstance, the French mariners often went off undisturbed in their boats, from one side of a French ship, while the English had entered, and were destroying it upon the other. But at last, tired with doing mischief in detail, the assailants all joined together to burn the enemies ships; and, having set fire to them, descended, with the same huzzas with which they had boarded. In this way they burnt six the first day. The rest, together with a great number of transports and ammunition

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nition ships, shared the same fate the next morning; the enemies making little resistance, because they saw it was fruitless. Few prisoners were taken; for the officers were possessed with the idea of the seamen, that the destruction of the ships was their only object; and some of them even made apologies to government for having incumbered themselves with prisoners.

Admiral Russel had ninety-nine ships of the line under his command, and Count Tourville but sixty-three, many of which were detached at the time of the action; so that not more than forty-four are supposed to have borne down to engage. Although the confederate fleet was considerably stronger than the French, yet the latter were, in fact, beaten by an inferior number; for the calm, and haziness of the weather, prevented many of the Dutch ships, and of the blue squadron, from taking a part in the action: so that it is highly probable, if the weather had been clear, and a brisk gale of wind had blown, not one French ship would have escaped. As it was, the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. Besides the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French lost another ship of one hundred guns; one of ninety, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, seventy-six, or seventy-eight, four of sixty, one of fifty-four, and one of fifty-eight: in all, fifteen ships of the line.

This engagement, which happened on the 21st of May 1692, put a final period to the hopes of James. No farther attempts were made in his favour, except some plots to assassinate King William, which ended only in the destruction of those who formed them. But it was never thoroughly proved that James countenanced these plots in the least; it rather appears, that in all cases he expressed the utmost abhorrence of such attempts. In 1697, the Abbé de Polignac, ambassador from France in Poland, wrote to his master, that thoughts were entertained of the late King of Britain in the new election which happened on the death of

John

John Sobieski king of Poland; and that James had been already named by some of the diets as his successor. Louis was eager to seize an opportunity of ridding himself with honour of a prince whose pretensions he could no longer support. The friends of James were also sanguine for the project; but he himself refused it. He told them, that "he would ever retain a grateful remembrance of his friends in Poland. That, however, he would not accept of the crown, had it actually been offered; much less would he endeavour to obtain by solicitation any crown which was not actually his due. That his acceptance of any other sceptre would amount to an abdication indeed of that which he deemed his right. That therefore he was resolved to remain in his present forlorn condition, possessing less hopes than ever of being restored, rather than to do the least act of prejudice to his family." The same year, at an interview between King William and Louis XIV. it was proposed that the Prince of Wales (James's son) should succeed to the throne of England after the death of William. The king with little hesitation agreed to this request. He even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his successor to the throne. Even this proposal was rejected by James. He told the King of France, that, though he could suffer with patience the usurpation of his nephew upon his right, he would never permit his own son to be guilty of the same injustice. He urged, that, should the son reign in his father's lifetime, that circumstance would amount to a formal renunciation. That the Prince of Wales, by succeeding to the Prince of Orange, would yield his sole right, which was that of his father, &c. From this time James lost every hope of being restored to the throne, and resigned himself entirely to the austerities of religious enthusiasm. His constitution, though vigorous and athletic, had for some time begun to yield to the infirmities of age, and

to that melancholy which superstition as well as his uncommon misfortunes had impressed on his mind.

When the destruction of the French men of war at La Hogue was fully accomplished, and the rest of the fleet had escaped either to the eastward or the westward, Admiral Russel brought the grand fleet back to St. Helen's, to repair the damage it had sustained; but, at the same time, he left Sir John Ashby, with twelve English ships of war, and three fire-ships, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron of like force, commanded by Vice-admiral Callemberg, to proceed to Havre-de-Grace, and attempt the destruction of such French ships as had taken shelter there. But they found them too well secured to give them any annoyance; and such tempestuous weather presently succeeded the action, as disabled the ships from undertaking any thing. The motive for Russel's immediate return into port was, to furnish the fleet with fresh supplies of ammunition and provision, and to take on-board a number of troops which had been marched down to the sea-shore, in order to make a descent on the coast of France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. Soon after his return he was informed, by a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, that no plan was absolutely formed for the destination of the troops, but that it was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea officers, when the fleet and the transports should be joined. A council of land and sea officers being held on-board the Breda, to deliberate on this design, it was unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Notwithstanding, the admiral detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, while he himself set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports; but, in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's. The queen

hereupon sent the Marquis of Carmarthen, lord-president of the council, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to enquire into the cause of their return, and to expedite another embarkation. The admiral clearly proved the impracticability of making a descent on the coast of France at that season of the year; the design was therefore laid aside, and the troops were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. The people complained that they were plundered and abused. The Dutch scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm, that every thing transacted at London was so speedily communicated to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. Some politicians, indeed, thought they saw the intention of the armament fully answered, and that King William only meant thereby to alarm the French, and oblige them to keep great bodies of men constantly along their coasts, and to be at a vast expence in watching the motions of this small body of troops, thereby reducing the force which they employed in Flanders. Another cause of national discontent proceeded from the numerous captures which were made of the English merchantships by French privateers; and, what tended much to aggravate these losses, the trade had suffered much more after the defeat of the French fleet of La Hogue, than when they were rivals on the ocean; which arose from the seamen being dismissed the king's service, and serving on-board privateers, which, being dispersed over different parts of the channel, made prize of whatever merchantmen came in their way. At the same time the grand fleet of England being collected together, the admiralty were not able to send out frigates to cruise at proper stations, for the protection of trade, or to provide it with proper convoys.

The

The most important events on the continent, during the campaign of 1692, must now be spoken of. Tho' the Duke of Bavaria, who, through William's influence, was this year made governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had put those provinces in a far better state than formerly, yet that did not hinder the King of France from attempting the siege of Namur, one of the strongest places in all those parts, both by its advantageous situation on the confluence of the Sambre and the Maes, and its good fortifications, but principally a castle built upon a hill in an angle formed by those two rivers. His most Christian majesty invested the town in person, on the 25th day of May, opened the trenches on the 29th, and pursued the siege with so much vigour and diligence, that in four days he made himself master of all the out-works next St. Nicholas's gate. The garrison, seeing it was in vain to withstand an army encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, surrendered the city on the fifth of June upon articles, and retired into the castle. Upon the news of this siege, King William, with the confederate army under his command, decamped from Anderleck, on the 27th of May, marched to Diegom, the next day towards Louvain, and pitched his camp near Bethlem-abbey; from whence he continued his march towards Namur, on the third of June. But before his majesty removed, he gave the enemy notice of his late victory at sea, by a treble discharge of a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, which were answered by as many vollies of small shot, from the two lines of the army. The Duke of Luxemburgh, who covered the siege of Namur with an army of seventy thousand men, upon information that the King of England moved towards the Mehaigne, marched that way likewise; and on the eighth of June the two armies, which were almost equal as to number, (the confederates not exceeding seventy-five thousand men) advanced in sight of one another, the river only remaining between them.

them. King William possessed himself of all the posts upon the Mehaigne, on his side; as Luxemburgh did of two villages surrounded with strong hedges and thickets on the opposite bank. But the confederates had such an entire command of the river by their batteries, that the same evening his majesty ordered the pontons to be laid over it, in order to attack it the next day. All things were in a readiness for an engagement, but the same night, and the succeeding days, the weather proved so rainy, that a stop was put to the king's enterprise. The most remarkable action before the castle of Namur, was the taking of fort William, which was raised by that great engineer Colonel Cohorn, and defended by himself. The King of France, being resolved to carry this work at any rate, caused it to be assaulted on the 21st of June; and, though all the efforts of his men proved unsuccessful, yet they returned to the storm the next day. The besieged, animated by their commander, made an incredible resistance, repulsing twice the assailants with great slaughter; but at length the latter, with redoubled numbers, made themselves masters of the covered way, and cut off the communication with the castle. M. Cohorn being dangerously wounded, the garrison, who thought themselves no longer in a condition to hold out, desired to capitulate; reserving only so much time to themselves, as to send to the Prince of Barbançon, governor of the old castle, to give him notice of their resolution, which he readily allowed; and thereupon fort William, which from this time was called fort Cohorn, was delivered up to the French. The consequence of this was the surrender of the castle of Namur on the first of July.

When the castle of Namur was surrendered, King William lay encamped at Melle, where he formed a design to surprize Mons, which the French took care to disappoint. From Melle his majesty marched his army to Genap, thence to Nostredame-de-hall, and, on the first of August, over the river Senne, where he was
joined

joined by the Hanover troops to the number of eight thousand men. — On the other hand, the King of France, contenting himself with the glory of having taken Namur, in sight of the confederate army, left the command of his forces to Luxemburgh, who pitched his camp in an advantageous post, covered by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steenkirk, where his Britannic majesty resolved to attack him, upon the information of some persons that were thought to understand the nature of the ground. Accordingly, on Sunday the third of August, the army marched early in the morning, the heavy baggage being ordered to repass the Senne at Hall. There were several defiles to pass, and the ways to be made, which made it a tedious march: but, however, about ten o'clock, the Prince of Wirtemberg, with the vanguard, which consisted of four battalions of English foot, two of Danes, and a detachment of Churchill's brigade, advanced towards the enemy, and fell upon them with so much vigour, that he drove them from hedge to hedge, posted himself in the wood that fronted the right wing of their army, and erected two batteries of cannon on little eminences, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the wood. While these batteries were playing upon the enemy, the confederate army marched up to the head of the defile, (about half an English mile from the wood,) where it opened in a little plain, not above half a league over, which terminated upon the right of the wood; and upon several rows of high trees, planted in great order. Upon the right of this plain, there was a farm which soon after the engagement was set on fire by the enemy, to cover, by the smoke, several of their battalions that were ordered this way. From the head of the defile, upon the left of the plain, there was a deep hollow way with high trees and hedges upon the banks of it, which reached as far as the wood where the vanguard was posted, and where it branched itself into two other deep ways. When the confederate army

was come up to the head of these defiles, and just entering into the small plain, they were ordered to halt, except the English life-guards, and horse and dragoons, and Lord Cuts's, Lieutenant-general Mackey's, Sir Charles Graham's, and the Earl of Angus's, regiments, which, being interlined with the horse, were commanded at the same time to the right skirts of the wood; whilst the Prince of Hesse's, Colonel Lowther's, and the Earl of Leven's, regiments, were also intermixed with the left wing of horse, and posted upon the outside of the wood. Things being thus disposed, and the army continuing in their halt, Prince Wirtemberg, after he had cannonaded for above two hours, began the attack with the Danes upon the right, which was immediately followed by the other four English regiments that composed the vanguard, and seconded by Cuts's, Mackey's, Angus's, Graham's, Lowther's, the Prince of Hesse's, and Leven's, regiments.

Never was more terrible, and at the same time more regular, firing heard; for during the space of two hours it seemed to be continual claps of thunder. The vanguard behaved themselves with so much bravery, and resolution, that, though they received the charge of several battalions of the enemies, one after another, yet they drove them beyond one of their batteries of seven pieces of cannon, of which the Danes and the second battalion of the regiment of English guards possessed themselves, and which Colonel Wachop, who commanded the English, would have sent away, had not the French cut off the traces, and carried away the horses. Sir Robert Douglas, with his first battalion, charged several of the enemy's, and beat them from three several hedges, and made himself master of the fourth, when, going through a gap to get on the other side, he was unfortunately killed upon the spot. All the other regiments behaved with equal bravery, firing muzzle to muzzle through the hedges, they on one side, and the enemy on the other.

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The king being made sensible of the difficulties the vanguard had to encounter, by one of Prince Wirtemberg's aids-de-camp, who had already sent two messengers to Count Solmes to no purpose, his majesty dispatched away Count Paulin, one of his aids-de-camp, with positive orders to Count Solmes, who commanded the main body, to send more foot to the prince's assistance; but Solmes, who was ever envious of the English, and who besides had a particular jealousy of Wirtemberg's commanding the attack, an honour which he would have had himself, instead of obeying his majesty's commands, ordered the horse to march, and the foot to halt: which proved the loss of the day. For the ground was so strait, and the enemy had such hedges, copses, and ditches, to cover them, that there was nothing to do for the horse; so that, when the vanguard began to engage, they had none but part of the infantry interlined with the left wing of horse to second them, the body of the foot being almost a mile in the rear. However, the king made all possible diligence to get the infantry up again, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain; with such foot as could come up. The eagerness of the soldiers to follow their royal leader, and to engage the enemy, was such, that they put themselves into some disorder, and took more time to form their battalions than could now be conveniently spared; so that, before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing, being overpowered by thirty battalions of the enemy, that charged them continually one after another, and by a fresh body of dragoons brought up by Boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confusion, and to leave the wood in the enemy's possession. The English life-guards owed their preservation to the Danish foot-guards; and Baron Pibrack's regiment of Lunenberghers being in disorder upon the skirt of the wood, and the colonel himself lying dangerously wounded upon the place,

Sir

Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the Earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemy's fire before he suffered any peloton of his battalion to discharge once; by this method he lodged himself in the hollow way near the wood, ordered his serjeants to carry off the Baron Pibrack, and maintained his post till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of Nassau.

The king, enraged at the disappointment of the vanguard for want of timely relief, expressed his concern by often repeating these words: "Oh! my poor English, how they are abandoned!" Nor would he admit Solmes to his presence for many months after. And now, considering that the fight was not to be renewed without endangering the loss of the whole army, Luxemburgh being considerably reinforced by Boufflers, and besides the night drawing on, his majesty commanded a retreat, which was performed with admirable order, and without any great disturbance from the enemy; who never durst engage the English in the rear.

In this battle the confederates lost the brave Lieutenant-general Mackey, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, the Earl of Angus, and divers other gallant officers, above two thousand men killed; three thousand wounded, or made prisoners, and several pieces of cannon. As for the French, bating the honour of remaining masters of the field, they had not much reason to boast of any advantage, having had the Prince de Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefonds, the Marquis de Tilladet, the Brigadier Stoupa, the Marquis de Firmacon, and several other men of distinction, and two thousand private soldiers, killed, and near as many wounded. Neither had they come off so cheap, had it not been for the Chevalier de Millevoix, one of the Elector of Bavaria's domestics, who had already given, and still endeavoured to give further, intelligence, to the Marshal de Luxemburgh, of the king's motions and designs,

signs, for which he was hanged on a tree in the right wing of his majesty's army.

William, though frequently unsuccessful, had a genius so fruitful in resources, that he often drew more advantage from a defeat than the French did from their victories. The French ministry however did not entirely depend on the fortune of war for the execution of their revenge against King William; they likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. One Dumont undertook to perpetrate this act of baseness. Madame de Maintenon, and Paperel, paymaster to the French army, encouraged the scheme. The assassin, to accomplish his design, enlisted in the confederate army, in order to shoot the King of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while a party of horse from the French camp was to rush forward to the rescue of Dumont, as soon as he had effected his purpose. This man was sufficiently abandoned to form such a scheme, but wanted that consummate degree of villany which was necessary to execute it; he was betrayed by his own fears, and, having confessed his guilt, suffered death as a traitor.

About this time the Duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend with the troops that had embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; and he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Tollemache. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and Mr. Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on farther deliberation, the enterprise was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced, were strengthened with new works, and secured with strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops, returning to Ostend, reembarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the

inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation.

King William returned to England on the 18th of October, and on the fourth of November opened the sessions of parliament, by a speech, in which he took notice of the signal victory obtained over the French at sea, and lamented the subsequent disappointments, as well as the bad success of the campaign by land. Neither the house of peers, nor the house of commons, assembled in a good humour; however, one of the earliest proceedings of the latter was, to pass a vote of thanks to Admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained. They then proceeded to enquire why that victory had not been pursued? why the descent had not been made? and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemies cruizers? The admiral having exculpated himself, they petitioned the king, to give directions for the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral; they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers, and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring, that twenty days had elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there were a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Russel, so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed, that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed; the house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only.

No sooner were the supplies voted, than every exertion was made to prepare a formidable fleet early in the season. In the month of January 1693 Admiral Ruffel was divested of his command; but, to qualify this step, he was appointed treasurer of the household. The command of the fleet was vested in the hands of the Admirals Killegrew, Delavalle, and Shovel. Rooke was created vice-admiral of the red, and Aylmer rear-admiral of the same division; Lord Berkeley was vice-admiral of the blue, and Mitchell his rear-admiral. The king, to conciliate the affections of officers and seamen, went down to Portsmouth, where he carefully inspected, not only the fortifications of the place, but the condition of the ships which lay there. Whilst on-board Admiral Rooke's ship, he conferred the honour of knighthood on that officer.

The first object with the combined fleets of England and Holland was to block up the French in their ports, particularly in Brest, and thereby remove the annoyance which the commerce of both countries had suffered from the privateers of France; but a fatal incapacity, or rather a destructive spirit of disaffection, pervaded the operations of the council, and of the admiralty-board. It is even said, that Killegrew and Delavalle were too much in the interest of James, to give any energy to the operations at sea; and Shovel, though well affected to the government, could not act in opposition to his two colleagues. Such were the delays in getting to sea, that the French navy had sailed from their harbours before the English had quitted theirs; so that the measures which had been planned were entirely frustrated. It was not until the middle of May, that the English fleet sailed at St. Helen's, and took on-board five regiments, which were intended for a descent in France. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, they composed a fleet of eighty-three ships of the line; of which fifty-one ships were furnished by England, but these were feebly manned, and

ill provided with necessaries and provisions; the states sent out thirty-two ships of the line.

The French had made vast preparations in all their ports, and had laboured, by well-directed efforts, to repair the damage which their navy had sustained: they bought and armed all the large merchantmen in every port in the kingdom, thereby converting them into ships of war. An embargo was laid on all the shipping in France, until the royal fleet was manned. To animate the officers and seamen, Louis made a grand naval promotion; and the whole naval force of France consisted of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. Whilst it was generally believed, that with this force the French king meditated some fresh attempt to restore the exiled monarch, his views were really directed to intercept a very valuable fleet of merchantmen, bound from the ports of England and Holland for the Levant. Four hundred ships, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, bound for the Straits, lay waiting for a convoy in May. On the 19th of that month, orders were sent from the admiralty, for the whole grand fleet to convoy those ships as far as might be found requisite. The three admirals had agreed, that Sir George Rooke should command a squadron of twenty-three men of war, English and Dutch, to escort the trade through the Straits, and along the Mediterranean, after the main fleet should leave it.

Though the ministry had received no certain intelligence concerning the motions of the French, the fleet under Count Tourville had actually sailed from Brest the 16th of May. It proceeded towards the Straits to join the squadron expected from Toulon, under d'Estrees. On the 28th of the same month, this armament put into Lagos Bay. Whilst it lay there, Rooke, with his squadron, and the fleet under his convoy, appeared, the grand fleet having shamefully left him, and the wealth which he escorted, on the 6th of June, about

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fifty leagues W. S. W. of Ushant, to fall a prey to the superior strength of France. Rooke, deceived by false intelligence of the strength of the enemy, prepared to engage, but soon perceiving his mistake, he stood out to sea; at the same time sending orders to the merchantmen that were near shore, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy's fleet, having on-board their admiral and vice-admiral, came up with two of the sternmost ships, which were Dutch men of war, commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel; who, finding themselves under the wind, and thereby cut off from all escape, tacked in for the shore, and thus, by dividing the attention of the enemy, gave many ships an opportunity of escaping. The Dutch captains, when attacked, made a most desperate defence, but were at last overpowered by numbers and taken. An English ship of war, and a rich pinnace, were burnt, twenty-nine merchant ships were taken, and about fifty destroyed; the value of which was estimated at a million sterling. The escape of the rest of the fleet was owing to the injudicious conduct of Tourville, who might have surrounded and taken the whole.

Rooke, having called a council of war, found his officers divided in their opinions; some proposed that he should bear away for Ireland, and others, that he should attempt to make the harbour of Lisbon. The admiral, however, over-ruled these measures, and determined to proceed to the Madeiras, where he safely arrived, and, having there taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and arrived at Cork on the third day of August, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. The Dutch, although very great sufferers by this fatal blow, in the account which they published of their loss, acknowledge, that it would have been much greater but for the conduct of Sir George Rooke, on whom they bestow warm praises. Tourville, instead of pursuing Rooke, attacked some of the
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Spanish ports where the ships had retired. On the 26th of July, he appeared before Malaga, threatening to bombard the town if the governor protected the English and Dutch vessels which lay in the harbour. The Spaniards not being intimidated by this threat, Tourville attacked the ships which lay in the mole with great fury. The seamen on-board them made a long and gallant defence. The French twice attempted to burn the Union frigate, but were bravely repulsed. The superiority of numbers at length prevailed, so that the masters of the vessels were obliged to sink them to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. A detachment of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, were then sent to Cadiz, where, however, they effected very little. At Gibraltary, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a Dutch man of war.

Soon after Rooke had arrived at Cork, he received orders from three commanding admirals, to send six of the largest ships to the fleet which then lay near the Scilly isles, and to station the rest at Kinsale. On the 16th day of August he joined the main fleet, having very fortunately fallen in with fifty sail of victuallers, which were sent out freighted with provisions for the fleets; but, tempestuous weather having driven them off their station, these vessels had missed them. The admirals, having cruised for a few weeks in the mouth of the channel, on the 25th of August returned to St. Helen's, where the regiments were debarked that had been on-board all the summer without attempting any thing. On the 19th day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland, and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guardships during the winter. The naval operations were then supposed to be closed for that year; but it soon appeared that there was yet a secret expedition to be undertaken, in order, if possible, to allay

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in some measure that national ferment which such severe losses and miscarriages had excited.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ships, whereby bombs may be thrown from a moving vessel with as much certainty as from the solid ground, is an invention claimed by France, and was now about to be employed in annoying the inventors. On the 13th day of November, Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines and well-boats, put to sea, and proceeded to St. Maloes. They anchored at Quincefort, when three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town. For thirteen days they threw bombs into the place, and, landing on an island near the town, they burnt a convent there. On the 19th they took the opportunity which a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, afforded, to send in an extraordinary fire-ship, of about three hundred tons burden, which was styled the infernal, and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes. This dreadful machine, calculated to give additional force to the horrors of war, struck upon a rock, within pistol-shot of the place where it was intended to moor her; the engineer was therefore obliged to set her on fire and retreat. She continued burning for some time, but at length blew up, with an explosion that was terrible beyond description. The whole town shook as if moved by an earthquake; three hundred houses were unroofed by it at the same instant of time: for three leagues round, no glass or other brittle substance could withstand the shock. The capstan of the vessel which dealt this desolation, and which weighed two hundred pounds, was carried by the force of the powder over the walls, and, falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground. The walls towards the sea were in general thrown down. The wretched inhabitants, with all their senses assailed by terrors; the ground shaking under them; their

their houses dismantled, and threatening to crush them in their ruins; their ears deafened with the horrid din that burst forth at the same instant; felt all the agonies of fear, insomuch as to be totally incapable of taking arms and defending themselves, so that they would have fallen an easy prey to a small number of troops; but no soldiers had been embarked for the expedition. The sailors, however, although unsupported, took and demolished Quince-fort. The place had greatly annoyed England, by fitting out great numbers of privateers, which were hereby destroyed, and ample revenge taken of the plunderers. The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines, styled Infernals, which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Scheldt when the Prince of Parma besieged Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following description, that it was in fact a fire-ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams, bored through to give air to the fire; and upon these lay three hundred carcasses filled with granadoes, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes, or mouths, to let out the flames, which were so vehement, as to consume the hardest substances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this vessel, was blown up in her, because they found the body of a man, well dressed, upon the shore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the vessels.

Early in the year (1693) the king had embarked for Flanders, leaving the queen, as usual, regent in his absence. The forces which the French brought into Flanders this year, at the beginning of the campaign, exceeded

exceeded those of the confederate army by near one half. But King William, having possessed himself of the camp at Park, prevented the King of France's designs upon Brabant. Upon which the latter, without attempting any thing farther, returned to Versailles, having sent the dauphin with a strong detachment, and Marshal de Boufflers, into Germany.

The French, who were encamped at Meldert, under the command of the Duke of Luxembourg, not being able longer to keep their posts, quitted them, and marched to Heylesheim, in their way towards the river Maese. King William took this opportunity to send the Prince of Wirtemberg, with a strong detachment, to force the lines the French had made to cover the countries they had conquered, from the Scheld to the Lys, and to Ipres, Berg, St. Winox, and even to the sea by Dunkirk.

Just at this juncture, the Duke of Luxembourg receiving intelligence that Count Tilly, who commanded the troops at Liege, was bringing a reinforcement to the king, the duke hastened with a body of troops to prevent their joining, which he was lucky enough to effect; for coming up with him, unexpectedly, in the hollow way through which he was to pass, he made an attack upon him, killed near two hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat to Maestricht without his baggage. The Prince of Wirtemberg was indeed so fortunate as to force the French lines, and raise considerable contributions; yet this did not hinder Luxembourg from besieging Hay, a considerable town with a castle, in the Low-countries, in the bishopric of Liege, on the river Maese, in the territory of Condrootz, fourteen miles from Liege. King William, as soon as he was advised of this, led his army nearer to the country of Liege; but, on his arrival at Tongres, he, to his great surprise, received the disagreeable news that the castle of Hay had capitulated on the 23d of July. As his majesty was also informed that Mon-

sieur Luxembourg had got nearer Liege, he sent thither ten battalions, which being got into the place, though with some difficulty, the city absolutely refused to accept of the neutrality offered by the French general. Upon which Luxembourg made as if he designed to lay siege to the place; but as he knew King William, who lay encamped at Neerhespen, was greatly weakened by the detachments he had sent both to Liege and Maestricht, his real design was to attack the king. The French army was supposed at this time to exceed that of the king's, by thirty-five thousand men. The king, to know the certainty of the enemy's designs, before he went further off from the Maese, sent out daily some parties of horse; one of which returned on the 28th of July, and gave his majesty an account they could not go beyond Wareem, because they met there with a great party of French horse, which was indeed the left wing of their army upon the march.

As soon as the king had notice of the enemy's approach, he got on horseback with the Elector of Bavaria, and chief officers of the army, and, finding that it was the vanguard of their whole army that was coming to attack him in his own camp, his majesty immediately ordered to arms, and to expect the enemy. Most of the general officers were for repassing the Geet; but his majesty chose to make the advantage of the ground he had, and venture a battle, notwithstanding the great disproportion of the two armies, rather than expose his rear to the enemy's charge.

About six in the afternoon, Marshal Joyeuse came up with the left wing of horse; and, about eight, the foot came up with the best part of the artillery; but, as was then too late to engage in battle, Luxembourg contented himself with disposing his army, in order to engage early next day; and for this end possessed himself of the villages of Landen, St. Gertruydenland, and Over-Winden.

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As soon as the enemy drew up by the confederate camp, the king ordered Brigadier Ramsey with his brigade, then composed of five battalions, to the right of all, to guard some hedges and hollow ways upon the right of the village of Lare. The Brandenburg battalions were posted to the left of this village; and more to the left the infantry of Hanover; Prince Charles of Brandenburg, as major general, commanding the six battalions of Brandenburg, and Lieutenant-general Dumont the Hanoverians, with whom he was to defend the village of Neer-Winden, that covered part of the confederates camp, between the right wing of horse and their main body. These were afterwards reinforced by the first battalion of the first regiment of guards, and the second battalion of Scotch guards. Upon the left at Neer-Landen, the king ordered the first battalion of the royal regiment, Churchill's, Selwin's, and Trelawny's, Prince Frederic's battalion of Danes, and Fagel's, to possess the village that covered the left of the confederates body of foot; which, upon the enemy's approach, had wheeled from the left to the right, to bring up their left to the brook of Beck, where it was covered by the village of Neer-Landen. The ground was open between the villages of Neer-Winden and Neer-Landen, whereupon his majesty ordered a retrenchment to be made in the night from the one to the other, to cover the body of foot; which was indeed but a slight breast-work, as may easily be judged by the short time they had to make it, and the small number of men that worked about it, to wit, thirty men per battalion. What remained of the body of foot was drawn up in one line within this retrenchment to defend it. The dragoons upon the left were ordered to the village of Dormal to guard that pass upon the brook of Beck, and from thence the left wing of horse reached to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this brook, and from thence turned off to the right behind the body of foot.

The king, who had been on horseback till late in the evening, not only to give all the necessary commands, but to see them executed, ordered his coach to be brought to the rear of Stanley's regiment, where he reposed himself about two hours, and early in the morning sent for Dr. Menard, one of his chaplains, into the coach to pray with him. The ensuing action, which has obtained the name of the battle of Landen, was fought the 29th of July. By sun-rising, the French were drawn up within reach of the confederates cannon, which played upon them with good success, and which the French sustained with admirable constancy, till about six o'clock, when they made a motion to draw nearer the king's retrenchments. About eight, Luxembourg ordered a strong body of troops to attack the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden; which they did with great fury and various success, having gained and lost these posts once and again; but at length the allies maintained their ground; and here the Duke of Berwick was taken prisoner by Brigadier Churchill. The duke was natural son to James by the Earl of Marlborough's sister; so that Brigadier Churchill, who took him prisoner, was his uncle.

This did not discourage the French from trying their fortune against the confederates left wing; the fire was very smart on both sides; the first battalion of the royal regiment was after a sharp dispute forced to retire, but was soon after encouraged by his majesty's presence, who rode immediately from the right to the left; and the enemy, after a sharp conflict of about two hours, were entirely beaten off, and pursued quite out of the defile into the very plain; so that they attempted this place no more.

Hitherto the success of the day was visibly on the confederates side, and the French, who continued a faint fire at Neer-Winden, seemed as if they intended to draw off: but Luxembourg, having still several brigades of fresh men, resolved to gain the village of
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Neer-Winden, and ordered the Prince of Conti to make the attack. The enemy had remained masters of the outermost hedges of this village, for, though our rallied forces had made the French give way considerably, yet they could not entirely clear the village. Conti, with the best foot in the French army, charged the confederates so vigorously, that the latter being already spent by their former encounters, were soon obliged to yield to the enemy the avenues of Neer-Winden. As M. Villeroy was marching with a strong body of horse this way, Count de Arco, general of the Bavarian cuirassiers, charged them with so much vigour, that, notwithstanding their brave resistance, he repulsed them quite within their foot; the Duke de Chartres who charged with them, narrowly escaping being made prisoner. Thereupon the confederates endeavoured to regain once more the post of Neer-Winden; and the Elector of Bavaria ordered two battalions to charge them in front, whilst three others should charge them upon their left flank; but the French rallying, and being considerably reinforced, the attempt became impossible; the Dutch and the Scotch guards having spent all their ammunition by their continual fire.

The king, who had left Neer-Landen upon the enemies fresh attempt upon Neer-Winden, twice led the English battalions to the charge, up to the right of the retrenchment, (which was now flanked, and under the enemy's command,) where they fought with great bravery. In the mean time Luxembourg, who had found a more convenient passage for the horse, between the posts of the king's and Zurbec's brigades, came in himself with the Prince of Conti and Count Marfin into the plain of the confederates camp, with the carabiniers, and several other regiments; whilst Joyeuse passed between Neer-Winden and Lare, with three brigades. The first that had come in with Conti joined with the king's horse, and fell upon the Hanover horse
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and broke them, whilst part of the enemy's second line of horse and the reserve came in upon their left, along the hedges of Lare. The Marquis of Harcourt, who had been sent for from Huy, with his detachment of twenty-two squadrons, came time enough to have his share of the day; he joined these, and made his dragoons alight and chase our foot out of the village of Lare. Villeroy came in upon the right of our retrenchments, which place the English disputed with undaunted resolution, till, being overpowered, the French remained masters of this part of the retrenchment, which they levelled to make room for a body of horse to come in.

After the Hanover horse had been broken, the rest of the confederates right wing of horse, being cut off from the body of foot, was soon overthrown by the enemy, who now had the opportunity to charge them both front and flank. The Elector of Bavaria did what he could to resist the numerous multitude of the enemies horse that charged him thus; but, finding it impossible, with no small difficulty he retreated over the bridge, and rallied on the other side as many of the scattered horse and foot as could get over, to favour the retreat of those who were ready to pass. The king did what he could to remedy this disorder, riding to the left to bring up the English horse for the relief of the right wing. But the enemy had now got another body of horse in our camp, commanded by the Duke d'Elbœuf. At the same time the Duke de Montmorency, Luxembourg's son, fell upon the right flank of the Dutch horse, and put them into disorder before the English horse, which were led on by the king, could come up and form their squadrons; so that they were forced to charge the enemy in the same order they rode up to them; (and most of them had rode as fast as their horses could gallop;) but that did not hinder them from doing extraordinary service. The king himself charged at the head of Lord Galloway's regiment,

ment, which distinguished itself very much on this occasion. Colonel Wyndham, at the head of his regiment, charged several times through the enemies squadrons. Colonel Langston was made prisoner; and the Duke of Ormond received several wounds, and had his horse shot under him; but was rescued by a gentleman of the French king's guards, from the hand of a villain who was offering to stab him.

The king, seeing the battle lost, ordered the infantry to retreat to Dormal upon the brook of Beck, which post had hitherto been kept by the dragoons of the left wing, who had nothing to do this day; and, finding that the enemies were surrounding him on all sides, his majesty ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galloway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neerhespen, which he gained with great difficulty. There was now nothing but confusion and disorder in the confederates camp; all those who could not get the passes for the retreat, being pressed by the enemy, were forced to fling themselves into the river, where abundance were drowned; the Duke of Athlone narrowly escaping the same fate. Lieutenant-general Tollemache brought off the English foot with great prudence, bravery, and success: but some of the English life-guards were so scared with the fancy of a pursuing enemy, that they did not think themselves secure till they had reached Breda. Sixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, were lost; but all the baggage had been sent to Lewes the over night, where it was safely brought off in respect of the enemy, but generally plundered by our own soldiers. As for the loss of men, the confederates owned but six thousand killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and the French could not deny but that they had above two hundred general officers killed or wounded; private soldiers they lost in proportion.

King William, during the action, made prodigious efforts of courage and activity. He was present in all parts

parts of the battle; he charged in person, both on horseback and foot, where the danger was most threatening; his peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf, were penetrated by three different musket bullets; and he saw numbers fall beside him. Even the enemy bore witness to his undaunted courage; the Prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he saw the Prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour well deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his dispositions and manœuvres were severely censured. Luxembourg, after he had minutely examined the situation of the confederates before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe, Waldeck is really dead." Alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment.

The confederates gave it out that the French had lost eighteen thousand men in the battle, which assertion seemed to be confirmed by Luxembourg's not pursuing his victory, and his continuing fifteen days together at Waren, without attempting any thing. However, after they had been reinforced, with some troops from the sea-coast, and a great detachment under Boufflers from the Rhine, they sat down before Charleroy. The place was attacked with great fury, but the garrison made such a vigorous resistance, that, though they had little or no prospect of relief, yet they held out six and twenty days from the opening of the trenches, and then made an honourable capitulation.

The king returned to England the latter end of October, escorted by a small squadron of men of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Mitchel. One of the first measures which he took after his arrival, was to reinstate Russel in the command of the fleet, and dismiss Nottingham from his post. On the 7th of November parliament met; the king, in his speech, expressed

pressed his resentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land-forces and the navy, and demanded a suitable supply for that purpose. Soon after the meeting of parliament, the house of commons entered upon an enquiry into the miscarriages at sea, and to consider of means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company was summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the admiralty for convoy; while Lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits fleet; together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It came out, in the course of this enquiry, that the misfortune which had befallen the Smyrna fleet, was, in a great measure, owing to the misconduct of the three admirals who commanded in chief, and to the neglect of the victualling-office. It was strongly urged, to pass a vote of censure on the admirals commanding in chief; but after much debate it was over-ruled, and the attention of the house was drawn to other matters. It appeared, that the sum of 1,036,415*l.* was due for seamen's wages. The house thereupon passed a vote of credit for 500,000*l.* towards discharging these arrears, and granted 2,000,000*l.* for the service of the navy in 1694. Lord Falkland was likewise found to have obtained, by indirect means, 4,000*l.* for which offence he was declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and breach of trust, and committed to the tower; from whence he was soon after discharged upon his petition. But he was dismissed from the head of the admiralty-board, to which the king advanced Russel; and he also superseded Killegrew and Delavalle, placing Sir George Rook and Sir John Houblon as joint-commissioners in their room.

Whilst these things were transacting at home, the nation sustained another misfortune at sea. Sir Francis Wheeler had been appointed commander in chief in

the Mediterranean, and had proceeded there for the protection of the trade, as well as of the Spanish ports, with a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with the Dutch Vice-admiral Callemberg and his squadron. On the 17th day of February, being in the bay of Gibraltar, he was overtaken by a violent storm, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather; the ground was likewise so foul, that no anchor would hold. A great number of ships were driven in ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew, amounting to five hundred and fifty, perished; two Moors alone escaped. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant-ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that, instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaut and Gabaret.

The king had bestowed great attention during the winter, in projecting the operations of the fleet for the ensuing summer, (1694.) The combined fleets were not assembled until the end of April. Russel hoisted his flag at Portsmouth on the 27th day of that month, and his avowed design was to sail into the Mediterranean, to defend the ports of Spain from the French, who had determined upon making the principal effort of the campaign on that side. But the chief enterprise of the season was designed against Brest. Lord Godolphin, tho' at the head of the treasury, had informed James some time before of this important secret; but, from the uncertainty which attended the sailing of the fleet, he could not fix the time. General Tollemache, contrary to the express opinion of Russel, occasioned this scheme to be adopted. When the admiral hoisted his flag at St. Helen's, the land-forces, destined for the expedition, were on their march under Tollemache, to Portsmouth. The French, who had sent an army

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into Catalonia, commanded by the Marshal Noailles, openly declared their resolution of assisting, with their whole fleet, the designs of that general against Barcelona. The court of Spain, anxious to preserve a place of such importance, had prevailed on the King of England to send the main body of the combined fleet to protect the place. It was therefore generally believed, that the land-forces under Tollemache were destined for that service. The alarm concerning Brest, which had been raised by the intelligence sent by Godolphin to James, had already subsided; and the cause of apprehension was greatly removed, by the sailing of the French fleet from that port on the 13th day of April. It is now at length brought to light, that the Earl of Marlborough transmitted to the abdicated King, by means of Colonel Sackville, an account of the real destination of this armament, the day before Russel sailed with the combined fleets. See Macpherson's History of England, vol. ii. p. 69. who takes these facts from King James's MS. Memoirs preserved in the Scotch college at Paris.

On the third of May, Admiral Russel sailed from St. Helen's with the combined fleets, consisting of fifty-two English and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. Having received advice of a fleet of French merchant-ships, which lay near Conquet-bay, he detached Captain Pritchard, in the Monmouth, with two fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Out of fifty-five sail of vessels, thirty-five were either burnt or sunk; these were coasters, whose general lading was salt, wine, and brandy. The admiral then returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudeffey Shovel, with a part of the fleet, to take on-board the land-forces destined for a descent on France. Finding every thing ready, he sailed again with the whole fleet on the 29th of May. A council of war being held on-board the Britannia, soon after they got out to sea,

it was resolved that the fleet designed against Brest should immediately proceed thither. Accordingly, that squadron, having parted with the grand fleet, anchored on the 7th of June between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. The next day nine hundred men were landed in a disorderly manner, under the fire of some men of war. They found the bay lined with intrenchments which were filled with French marines. The English, having for some time bravely sustained the fire of the enemy, were at length forced to retreat. To add to the misfortune, it was now ebbing tide, and several boats were left dry on the sand. Confusion and slaughter prevailed. Six hundred soldiers were slain, many were drowned, besides those who were killed on-board of the ships. Tollemache himself received a wound in his thigh, of which he afterwards died at Plymouth. The ships which covered the landing were greatly shattered by the batteries which flanked the shore. One Dutch frigate was sunk, after losing her whole crew, except an ensign, a drummer, and a private man. The French had profited so much by the intelligence given them by Marlborough, that the English found it expedient to return home, without making any farther attempts.

The queen sent orders to the admiral to call a council of war, and to deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. It was then resolved to make an attempt upon the coast of Normandy, and the town of Dieppe was singled out as the object of their vengeance. They set sail on the fifth of July; but, meeting with foul weather, it was not till the twelfth that they began to play upon the town, when they bombarded it with such fury, that the greatest part of the place was reduced to ashes. They then proceeded to Havre-de-Grace, one third of which they demolished, together with great part of the walls, and destroyed numbers of the troops that had been poured in to defend the place, as well as of inhabitants.

tants. But these furious assaults had so shattered the vessels, that the admiral found it necessary to desist; but, to keep up the alarm which these attacks had spread along the coast, the fleet appeared off La Hogue, which greatly harassed the French troops, by drawing them hastily down to that extremity of Normandy. Although the fleet by this time was incapable of attempting any thing, yet it alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that the inhabitants would have abandoned their dwellings, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

Lord Berkley returned from this successful expedition on the 26th of July. The command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who received positive instructions to undertake something against Dunkirk. He therefore sailed into the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, who was the inventor of those machines called *infernales*, and who directed their operations. This engineer brought with him several Dutch pilots, who were acquainted with the harbour of Dunkirk, and could assist the ships in the attack. On the 12th of September, the fleet appeared before Dunkirk; Captain Benbow was appointed to conduct the enterprise, under the directions of the engineer. The next day the Charles galley was sent in, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called *infernales*. These latter were set on fire without effect, and the design miscarried. The admiral then directed his course towards Calais, and in his way reduced to ashes the ancient town of Graveling. On the 17th he appeared before Calais, threw a great number of shells into the town, by which about forty houses were consumed; but the wind blowing hard, accompanied with a great swell of the sea, he was obliged to bear away for the Downs, from whence he sent the bomb-ketches and machines into the river Thames.

Very

Very little was done this year in Flanders. The king commanded the confederate army at Mont St. André, consisting of thirty-one thousand horse and dragoons, and fifty-one thousand foot; besides these, Count Thian commanded a body of seven thousand men, near Ghent. The French had very near as numerous an army near Huy; but the dauphin who commanded them, though he declared he was ordered by his father not to remove whilst the confederates kept their camp at Mont St. André, yet was he at last obliged to remove, when, notwithstanding King William used all possible diligence to pass the river Scheld, at point Espires, yet the French prevented him; for the Elector of Bavaria, having advanced to the river, found the French so securely intrenched on the other side, that he judged it too dangerous to attempt the passage of the river. By this means the allies were hindered from penetrating into French Flanders. The French, during the time they lay intrenched near Courtray, had sent strong detachments to cover Ypres, Menin, Berg, St. Winox, Furnes, and Dunkirk. King William, therefore finding he could effect nothing on that side, determined to take the opportunity to recover the town and castle of Huy from the French, which they had taken last year. Accordingly Prince Tserclaes de Tilly passed the Maese, and invested Huy, with a party of Brandenburg horse, some battalions of foot, and all the horse and dragoons of the bishopric of Liege. He was the next day followed by the Duke of Holstein Ploen, who was to undertake the siege; but at his approach, the town instantly surrendered. Soon after the batteries were raised against the castle, and two days after they opened the trenches, and continued their attacks with so much vigour, that they were ready for an assault in six days more; when the besieged beat a parley, and the governor on the following day surrendered the fortress. This action

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MARY II

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closed the campaign in Flanders; the French being now entirely dispossessed of the bishopric of Liege.

While the war languished in Flanders, the French pushed their operations with vigour on the side of Spain. In Catalonia, Marshal Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, defeated the Spanish army intrenched on the farther shore. He took Palamos by assault; Geronne and Ostalric fell successively into his hands. His designs upon Barcelona were defeated by the arrival of Russel, with the combined fleet, in the neighbouring seas: at his approach Tourville retired to Toulon. The English, by being masters at sea, gave a new turn to the siege, and Noailles presently abandoned his enterprise. While the combined fleets continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea, and all his projects were disconcerted. Russel, after having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order from the king, he wintered. During his stay in this harbour, he took such effectual measures for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to attempt it.

In the month of December, Queen Mary was taken ill of the small-pox; and, the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She expired at Kensington on the 28th of that month, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented both at home and abroad. Mary, in her person, was tall and graceful; with an oval face, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her judgment solid, and her memory tenacious. She was a zealous Protestant; distinguished by her undissembled piety, her extensive charity, the evenness of her temper, and the mildness of her conversation. Her conjugal affection seems to have

have been the ruling principle of her life. Those who thought that a king may be justified in being a tyrant, but that his people cannot be justified in resisting his tyranny, execrated with great bitterness the memory of this princess, for accepting the vacant throne of England upon her father's abdication, and reigning over these kingdoms to the exclusion of her parent. But if ever the consideration of public good may be allowed to outweigh the ties of blood, and to supersede, in such instances only in which they clash, the duties resulting from consanguinity, the conduct of Queen Mary may be considered not only as excusable, but as meritorious. Naturally unambitious, her patriotism ought not to be doubted: it was not the attraction of royalty that drew Mary to oppose her father; but the full conviction that that father had broken the solemn engagements he had entered into with his people, and was strenuously labouring to introduce the most fatal innovations in religion, and the civil government. So circumstanced, it required no dispensation of the church to absolve her from her filial obligations; her country demanded the sacrifice, and the greater duty suspended the less. The Princess of Denmark (afterwards Queen Anne) was no sooner informed of the queen's dangerous illness, than she sent a lady of her bedchamber, requesting that she might see her. This was declined, but her sister thanked her for the concern she had expressed, and informed her, that the refusal proceeded from the directions which the physicians had given, who had ordered the queen to be kept as quiet as possible. At the same time she declared, that she died in perfect amity with her sister. The city of London, the two houses of parliament, the nation in general, expressed, in warm addresses to the throne, their sense of the queen's merit, and their own sorrow. The princess Anne was prevailed on by the Earl of Sunderland, to write a letter of condolence to the king, on the death of his consort.

confort; and not long after she visited the king at Kensington, where she was received with every mark of kindness. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the most valuable of the late queen's jewels.

James made no efforts to recover his kingdom in consequence of this event. He conceived hopes, that a government, which he thought depended upon the popularity of his daughter, would shake and unhinge itself by her decease. He was much affected by the intelligence; but his sorrow was more that of an enthusiast than that of a father: he was rather grieved at her manner of dying, than at her death. The following are the reflections which he wrote in his memoirs on this occasion: "The king received this additional affliction to those which he had already undergone. He saw a child, whom he tenderly loved, persevering to her death in a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty: he perceived that she was extolled for a crime as for the highest merit: he heard her contradictions called virtues; and her breach of duty to a parent, a becoming sacrifice to her religion and her country."

King William was for some time under a sincere concern for the loss of his amiable consort; but, as politics had taken entire possession of his mind, he lost all other concerns in the greatness of his apprehensions for the balance of power and the fluctuating interests of Europe.

The parliamentary provision for the service of the army and navy, during the year 1695, was 4,000,712*l*. for the raising of which sum the land-tax was continued; the subsidy of tonnage and poundage was renewed for five years, and new duties were laid on different commodities.

In the spring, four thousand five hundred troops arrived at Cadiz, where Admiral Russel had wintered, under the command of Brigadier Stuart, together with

a large fleet of victuallers. The admiral, hereupon, sailed for Barcelona, where the affairs of France were greatly on the decline. The Marquis de Castanaga, viceroy of Catalonia, having formed a design of retaking Palamos, desired the assistance of Russel and his fleet for that purpose. In consequence of this design, four thousand English and Dutch troops were landed, whilst the fleet began to bombard the town and castle. The Spanish army was quite unprovided with every necessary for conducting the siege, whilst the French had a numerous garrison in the town. Russel, therefore, soon withdrew his assistance, but not till he had done considerable damage to the town and castle. He then proceeded to Toulon, to look after the French fleet. Having spent the summer to little purpose on the coasts of Spain and Provence, he returned to Cadiz in the end of September. The French were, however, greatly alarmed at the English remaining undisputed masters in the Mediterranean, and were in continual dread of a descent being made on their coast; so that, although no actual advantage was gained, yet the French ports in that sea were effectually shut up, and the honour of the British flag restored.

In the channel, Lord Berkley of Stratton, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde, obliged the French fleet to remain in port, whilst they resolved upon a second attack upon St. Maloes. This attempt, however, did less injury to the town than their former one. On their way home they destroyed Granville on the coast of Normandy. Returning to Portsmouth to refit, they soon after took a small number of soldiers on-board, and sailed for the Downs with a design to attack Dunkirk; the expedition was conducted by Meesters, who had provided instruments of destruction for the place. On the first of August, the bomb-ketches, fireships, and machine vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines to cover them, entered the harbour. The bombardment began about nine in the morning, and the

the attack continued till about five in the afternoon. The French, however, were so well provided for their defence, that no impression could be made. A want of unanimity disconcerted the measures of the assailants, and the Dutch engineer retired in disgust during the night. Lord Berkley, although deprived of his assistance, resolved to attack Calais. Previous to an assault upon the town, it was necessary to demolish a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier heads. This service was gallantly and successfully performed by Colonel Richardson on the 17th of August. But, although six hundred bombs were thrown into the town, it sustained no essential injury. This attempt concluded the operations of the combined fleets during the summer of 1695.

King William went over this year to Holland, in the middle of May, and arrived at Ghent on the fifth of the next month, and, on the eleventh of the same month, led his army to Roufelaer. The 13th, the royal army removed three leagues further, and encamped at Becelaer. As Marshal Boufflers was encamped at Pontespierre, his majesty went in the evening to reconnoitre the enemy. The main body of the army he found encamped within their lines, standing to their arms, as expecting to be attacked. As soon as the king was informed of this, he detached Major-general Churchill, with eight battalions, to join Major-general Ellemberg; and the Duke of Wirtemberg marched in the night with Colonels Goor and Brown, ten pontoons, and eight hundred pioneers, to take upon him the command of that army, and to make an attempt upon the fort of Kenoque, to encrease the enemy's jealousy for Flanders, and draw their forces more and more on that side.

The same day the Elector of Bavaria made a feint of attacking the new line, and his majesty went to an eminence to view the enemy; and, it being confirmed on all hands, that all their forces were within their

lines, his majesty sent orders to the Baron de Heyden to advance towards Flanders, with the troops under his command. Upon these motions, Villeroy detached two brigades from his army; one towards Courtray, the other towards the fort Kenoque, in the attacking which Prince Wirtemberg met with great difficulties; and at the same time his Britannic majesty sent fresh orders to the Earl of Athlone, and the Baron de Heyden, to confer together, and concert measures towards the siege of Namur.

The king had not as yet declared his design, but had pursued his stratagem of drawing all the enemies forces on one side, that he might attack the other with less opposition. This having succeeded according to his wishes, his majesty directed the Earl of Athlone and the Baron de Heyden to invest Namur, a great, rich, and strong, city, with a noble castle, in the Low-countries, on the rivers Maes and Sambre, three miles S. W. of Liege.

The Earl of Athlone, being joined by the Brandenburg troops, left a good body of horse at Falaise, and marched with the rest to Charleroi. At the same time the king having marched back his army to Rousselaer, left them there under the command of Prince Vaudemont, and attended by a strong guard advanced himself towards the Maes. These motions, together with the great preparations which were making at Maestricht, Liege, and Huy, put the French in suspense whether the confederates designed to attack Namur, or Charleroi; and the Marquis de Harcourt, who had passed the Maes near Dinant, and who feared most for Charleroi, reinforced the garrison of that place with a body of dragoons. But the Earl of Athlone having passed the Chambre at Chasselet, below Charleroi, marched again down that river towards Namur; so that his lordship being by this time reinforced by a body of horse and dragoons, from the Elector of Bavaria's army, commanded by Count Tilly, lieutenant-

general,

general, he took all the posts from the Sambre to the Maes of the town-side of Falaife; whilst Heyden with the Brandenburg and Dutch forces invested the place between the Sambre and the Maes. Another detachment was ordered to surround Namur on the Condroz side; but their not coming in time, by reason of the difficulty of the ground, and the vast extent of the circumvallation, gave Boufflers an opportunity to throw himself into the place with several regiments of dragoons, a great many volunteers, and M. Megrigny, at the head of several engineers, miners, and gunners; insomuch that with this reinforcement the garrison consisted of near 15,000 men; the most of them the best troops of France. The king came to the castle of Falaife on the second of July, and the next day, the Elector of Bavaria having brought up the rest of his army with wonderful celerity, the town and castle of Namur were entirely invested. The Sambre and the Maes naturally divided the army into three general quarters, which were subdivided into several others. The king's quarters reached from the Sambre to the Maes towards Brabant, and here encamped twenty-three battalions, and one hundred and twenty squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, the Earl of Athlone, Baron Obdam, and others; his electoral highness was posted between the Sambre and Maes, with twenty-four battalions, twenty squadrons, the Spanish and Bavarian-generals, General Cohorn, and a major-general of Brandenburg; and, in the Condroz along the Maes, both above and below the town, were encamped, the Baron de Heyden, with the other Brandenburg generals, and Count de Berlo, general of the cavalry of Liege, having ten battalions and sixty squadrons under them. For the communication of these quarters three bridges were immediately laid, one on the Sambre, and two on the Maes; and of these one was above, the other below, Namur. The same day the king received intelligence, that

that Marshal Villeroy had sent some detachments towards the Maes; that Prince Wirtemberg having amused the French for some time, and finding at length it was impossible to hinder the communication of Kenoque with the body under M. Montal, was retired from before that fort with eleven battalions of foot, and one regiment of horse, and had joined Prince Vaudemont; that the latter, being thus reinforced, had detached Major-general Ramsey with fourteen battalions to attend his majesty. The Count Nassau, lieutenant-general, was gone the same way with eight battalions more; and he was soon to be followed by the Lord Cutts with ten others. The next day the king viewed the avenues to the town, and ordered abundance of trees to be cut down in the forest of Marlagne, to stop the passages on that side; and cover the retrenchment made on the road.

The fifth and sixth of July, both horse and foot being encamped, the besiegers worked on the circumvallation, under the direction of General Cohorn; and the Earl of Athlone, having repassed the Maes with a hundred squadrons of horse, marched towards Pieton, in order to consume the forage there, and observe the motions of the enemy. Count Berlow followed him with the horse of Liege, so that there remained but little cavalry before the place.

On the other hand, the French prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance; and, having been lately so considerably reinforced, expected no less than to defeat all the attempts of the besiegers. Namur has ever been accounted one of the strongest towns in the Low-countries, both by the advantage of its situation, and the addition of its fortifications, which gave it the command over two great rivers, and made it the best bulwark of Brabant. The place had very much changed conditions, since it fell into the hands of a monarch, who never spared charges to put his frontiers and conquered cities into the best defence they are capable to receive

receive from art and nature. The town then, was quite over-looked by a steep hill, from the Iron-gate to St. Nicholas-gate; so that the French, having the liberty to bring down their batteries at first to the descent of that hill, and to open their trenches at the foot of it, near the Maes, they made themselves masters of it in five or six days. But now, to add a very considerable strength to this weak part of the town, the French had made a detached bastion on the ascent of the hill before St. Nicholas-gate, all of stone-work, with a casemate upon it bomb-proof; the counterscarp was of free-stone, as also the covered way which pointed just upon the top of the hill; so that no cannon from the plain could bear upon this work; and the allies were necessitated to batter it in reverse from the other side of the Maes. Upon the right, towards the Iron-gate, the besieged had made three detached bastions of the same work just upon the brow of the hill, and at the foot of the same, before the gate; and, between the hill and the brook of Werderen, they had a fourth which hindered the avenues between the hills to this gate. The plain upon these hills was fortified with a double covered-way, both pallisadoed, to defend these detached bastions towards the village of Bouge; and, when the allies began to invest the place, the French were working at a third, nearer to the brow of the hill, just before these works; so that the town, which before was but weak, was now by the new fortifications rendered so strong, that it held out longer than the castle. The castle, the principal strength of Namur, is built upon an hill in an angle formed by the confluence of the Sambre and the Maes, and consists of an irregular fortification, such as the ground could admit of, divided into the old and new castle, or Terra Nova, and Cohorn or William's fort; and this likewise received such additions from the French, as to leave it almost unattackable the same way they took it before. Cohorn-fort fell into their hands by carrying their trenches

trenches round it along the bottom, between it and Terra Nova; which work being thus embraced, and all manner of communication cut off, was soon forced to surrender. To prevent the like for the future, the French built a strong stone redoubt, just upon the top of the hill, between the Cohorn and Terra Nova, with a casemate over it bomb-proof; and, as this redoubt commanded all the bottom to the Sambre, so it had likewise a good covered-way, pallisadoed from the angle of the gorge of the Cohorn to the brink of the hill upon the Maes. Add to this, a very good half-moon they had raised before the curtain of the hornwork of the Terra Nova; besides their fortifying the Devil's House, that flanked the sides of the Cohorn towards the Maes, with a strong stone redoubt; which place, when the Spaniards had it, had but a simple retrenchment about it, and yet it held out four or five days. From the upper part of the Cohorn, on the side of the Maes, they had made a good covered-way, which embraced the beforementioned redoubt, to the edge of the hill upon the Maes; and had undertaken a prodigious line cut into the rock all along the top of the hill, near an English mile in length, terminating upon the edge of the hill towards the Sambre, with two redoubts at each end. The line was finished, and the redoubt towards the Maes very forward; but, that towards the Sambre being but just begun, they made it up with fascines, upon the arrival of the allies before the place. The castle was so well fortified on the top of the hill, that it would have been a very tedious piece of work to have attacked this way; but the weak side of it and Cohorn-fort was towards the Sambre and the town, which the French had not so much regarded; being so confident of the impregnableness of the place, that they had set up this inscription on one of the gates; *Reddi quidem, sed vinci non potest*; intimating that the town "might indeed be restored, but not retaken."

Namur

Namur being thus fortified, and provided besides with all necessaries for many months; with a good store of ammunition, a hundred pieces of cannon, twelve mortars, ten thousand musquets to spare, and a garrison of twelve thousand men; seemed to defy the attempts of the best appointed and most numerous army. Marshal de Boufflers had thrown himself into it with seven chosen regiments of dragoons, a great number of volunteers, and Major-general Megrigny, another Vauban, followed by the most skilful engineers, gunners, miners, and bombardiers, of France.

The lines of circumvallation being finished, the king, attended by the Elector of Bavaria, went, on the tenth of July, early in the morning, to Baron Heyden's quarters, where he was met by all the general officers, with whom having viewed the place, all were of his majesty's opinion, that the attack upon the town ought to be made against St. Nicholas-gate; and therefore it was resolved that the trenches should be opened on the hill de Bouge, and below along the Hermitage, as also that in the Condroz side between the hill St. Barbe and the river; and that, to favour the opening of the trenches, Heyden should raise a battery of ten pieces of cannon to batter in reverse the covered-way and detached bastion before St. Nicholas-gate, which faced the attack. Accordingly, the heavy cannon being brought up, the trenches were opened the next day without any great disturbance from the enemy; and the same day Lord Cutts arrived in the camp with six battalions of foot. The 12th the batteries began to play, and the trenches were successfully carried on. On the 13th, Prince Vaudemont informed the king, that the French seemed to have some design in Flanders, and that Aeth was most in danger. The next day, upon advice that the Marquis d'Harcourt and Lieutenant-general Ximenes were in motion, and might easily fall upon our convoys on the side of the Condroz and Liege, which was unguarded,

his majesty detached twenty squadrons of horse and dragoons towards the plain of St. Severin, between Huy and Liege, to observe the enemy; and in the afternoon a battery of four pieces of cannon was raised from the eminence of Bouge, against the old tower of Coquelet, which very much incommoded the besiegers.

The attacks against the town of Namur were carried on with great application; and, two or three small sallies of the besieged having had no success, they resolved to make another on the 18th of July, about three in the afternoon, with one thousand two hundred horse, and four squadrons of dragoons. After they had crossed the Maes, they attempted the trenches on the right hand of the bridge belonging to that river, took a redoubt that was unfinished, and only stuffed with sacks of wool, fell upon the besiegers both in front and flank, and forced them at first to give way; but, the latter taking fresh courage, and being supported by some Brandenburg horse, the French were beaten back, with the loss of two hundred of their men; nor was this encounter less bloody to the besiegers. However the king finding, that very day, that the trenches were advanced within fusée-shot of the counterescarp, he resolved to storm the advanced works and traverses that evening, an hour before sun-set, to hinder the enemy from fortifying themselves any more; and for that purpose his majesty ordered, that the battalions that relieved the trenches should begin the attack, and that those that were relieved should support them. Accordingly Ramsey and Cutts, at the head of five battalions of the foot-guards, both English, Scotch, and Dutch, began the onset on the right, being sustained by six English battalions, commanded by Fitz-Patrick; and at the same time Major-general Salisch, with eight Dutch and other regiments, and nine thousand pioneers, insulted the enemy on the left, from the redoubt to the ruined tower of Coquelet; and was to be seconded by Major-general Heukelom, with
some

some Dutch battalions. The horse-guard was doubled, and all the troops on that side had orders to be in readiness to support the whole attack in case of necessity; which precaution proved altogether needless, by reason of the extraordinary valour and intrepidity the assailants shewed on this occasion. However, the besieged having brought out eight battalions, a great detachment of dragoons, and all the grenadiers, to defend their entrenchment, the dispute was obstinate for two hours, but at last the French were beaten back, and pursued to the very gates of the town. The king, who remained upon the place during the whole action, was so well pleased with the bravery and excellent order of his men, that, laying his hand over the Duke of Bavaria's shoulder, he said to him several times with transport; "See my brave English! See my brave English!" And indeed they advanced boldly, and undisturbed, amidst showers of great and small shot, bombs, and hand granadoes; which, by the effect of mines and fougades, opened graves for them in several places, towards an enemy secured by entrenchments well pallisadoed. The confederates loss in this action amounted to twelve hundred, either killed or wounded; and that of the French to about as many.

After this success, the besiegers carried on their trenches to the village of Bouge, towards St. Nicholas-gate; the same being done also on that side, near the Maes; as well above as below, with a design to draw two parallels along the river, on that side next the suburbs of Jambe, and opposite to the castle bridge; but the French, being apprehensive of their design, set fire to the suburbs, which somewhat retarded the approaches that General Cohorn had begun.---On the 21st of July, a battery was finished on that side next St. Nicholas-gate, and the trenches advanced one hundred paces towards the rivulet that runs into the bottom, which the French had swelled with water, and which was secured by a kind of a half-moon. Next

day they began to play upon a bastion, and the works before St. Nicholas-gate, from a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon; and, on the 23d, the Brandenburg-hers battered the water-stop, in order to drain the moat; yet with little effect, because it was lined with large free-stone. The great rains which fell about this time, very much incommoded the besiegers, and interrupted their approaches; however, on the 25th, they plied their batteries with success, raised new ones, set on miners to the redoubt of Balart, near St. Nicholas-gate, and the next day forced the captain that commanded in it to surrender at discretion.

On the 24th, the king went into the trenches, and perceiving the batteries had made great breaches in St. Nicholas bastion, the demy bastion of St. Roch, and at the end of the counterscarp of the town, his majesty disposed all things for the general attack of the first counterscarp, which was performed towards five o'clock that afternoon in this manner. The English and Scotch, commanded by Major-general Ramsey and brigadier George Hamilton, came out of the trenches to the right, and attacked the point of the foremost counterscarp, which enclosed the sluice, or water-stop; the enemy received them with a furious discharge, which put them at first into some disorder; but they returned more animated to the charge, and drove the enemy from that counterscarp. But it unluckily fell out, that, whilst the workmen were making a lodgement, some sacks of wool took fire, whereby part of the lodgment was consumed, and the English exposed to the shot of the counterguard, and demi-bastion of St. Roch; which they sustained and answered, with incredible resolution, till the fire was extinguished and some traverses cast up. On the other hand, the Hollanders, seeing the English in so hot a place, immediately went up along the Maes towards the breach of the counter-guard, and so vigorously attacked the enemy with their hand-granadoes, that the latter thought it safer to retreat.

treat than defend themselves, which very much eased the English. Thereupon the Dutch lodged themselves upon the counterguard, and thus both they, and the English, preserved the foremost covered-way, before St. Nicholas-gate, from the Maes to the water-stop, with part of the counterguard. The valour and firmness of the confederates infantry in this action is hardly to be paralleled; and indeed the French officers behaved themselves like men of true courage, exposing themselves on the glacis of the counterscarp, and on the break of the counterguard, with their swords in their hands, in order to encourage their soldiers. The enemy did not throw many bombs, but they fired incessantly into the trenches with five or six pieces of cannon, which killed several persons near the king.

While this was doing on the town side, the Elector of Bavaria was not idle between the Sambre and the Maes, but commanded an attack to be made towards the abbey of Salfines, where he designed to post himself. This was performed with so much vigour, that he not only forced the retrenchment next the Sambre, but made himself master of the fort of La Balance at the head of those intrenchments; repulsed four squadrons of horse that came out of the castle; laid a bridge over the Sambre; passed that river amidst the enemies continual fire, and possessed himself of the abbey of Salfines, a post of great importance, and which favoured the attack of Vauban's line, that surrounded the works of the castle.

On the 28th, the king viewed the several posts and lodgments, and finding all in good order, and that the miners were already at work on the ditch of the covered way, and on the water-stop, in order to drain both, his majesty ordered some new batteries to be set up, particularly one on the glacis of the redoubt, in order to ruin the ravelin. The same day, sixty grenadiers and as many musqueteers, were commanded out of regiment to make an attack near the Iron-gate; which the

the French at first sustained with great courage, but were at last forced to retire; and in the evening they were likewise driven from the line of communication near the suburbs of Jambe, so that they were no longer in a condition to make sallies on that side. On the other hand, the Elector of Bavaria, to signalise his conduct and bravery, resolved to storm the line of the castle, and ordered General Cohorn to dispose all things for that purpose towards Salfines, and General Flemming to do the same on the other side of the Maes. On the 13th of July, by break of day, his electoral highness, with the Spanish and Bavarian generals, and General Cohorn, began the attack towards Salfines, and assaulted the retrenchment in flank with about three thousand foot, sustained by some battalions, and one thousand Spanish and Bavarian horse. Major-general Schwerin attacked the line in front, with five hundred grenadiers, as many musqueteers, and one thousand pioneers; and the Brandenburg generals, with five hundred grenadiers, supported by two thousand foot, and their grand musqueteers, gens-d'armes, and and horse grenadiers, insulted the enemies flank on the Maes side. The besieged at first made some resistance; but, being assailed on all sides, and that with extraordinary bravery, they were driven to the counterscarp of Cohorn-fort. Animated by this success, the besiegers pursued the runaways as far as the Devil's-house, where the French had several cannon laden with cartouches, and about nine hundred men laid flat upon their bellies, who now, starting up on the sudden, poured in volleys of shot upon the assailants. The latter received the fire with incredible undauntedness, forced the French from the counterscarp of the fort, and made themselves masters of it; however, it being impossible to lodge themselves there, they retired in pretty good order. By this brave action, at the expense of about two hundred men killed, or wounded, the besiegers gained a lined redoubt, some advanced batteries,

batteries, and Vauban's retrenchment from the Sambre to the Maes, which with immense labour the French had cut through the rock, and which they boasted would cost the allies five thousand men before they could take it.

This attack on the castle side, where the king was present, being over, his majesty went to view the trenches on the town side; and, finding that a mine had been sprung, which had overturned a good part of the water-stop into the ditch, whereby the water was lower by two feet, he ordered the miners to work on, in order to drain the moat; and all things to be ready to make a lodgment on the demi-bastion.

The two following days, the besiegers battered the works before St. Nicholas-gate with great fury, and threw many bombs, which did considerable execution; and particularly one fired by Lieut.-colonel Brown, which set on fire the enemies magazine in the demi-bastion. On the second of August, towards evening, Lord Cutts with two hundred English grenadiers, and Brigadie Dedem, with a like number of Dutch, both which were to be sustained by the battalions in the trenches, were ordered to attack the saliant-angle, and the other the demi-bastion, which they performed with bravery, and, after some resistance, lodged themselves on the second counterscarp.

The cannon having by this time widened the breaches, and all things being ready for a general assault, Count Guiscard, the governor, demanded to capitulate for the town, which being readily granted, the articles were agreed upon, and signed on the fourth of August, by the Elector of Bavaria for the allies, and by Count Guiscard for the besieged. The same day the Iron-gate was delivered to the besiegers, and on the sixth the French evacuated the town, and retired to the castle.

Whilst batteries are raising against the fortress, let us make a short digression, and observe the motions of the French army under Villeroy. After the marshal

had failed in his design upon Prince Vaudemont, as also against Newport, he marched towards Dixmuyde, and ordered Montal to lay siege to it. The town was indeed but weak, but, considering the strength of the garrison, it might have held out a fortnight, or at least have surrendered with less ignominy; but Major-general Ellemberg, the governor, being a soldier of fortune, when he saw himself cooped up in a place, surrounded by a royal army, after a slight resistance of thirty-six hours, he yielded himself, and all his garrison, prisoners of war. Deynse followed the example of Dixmuyde, and surrendered to the French at discretion, without firing a gun.

Villeroy having ordered the fortifications of Dixmuyde and Deynse to be razed, passed the river Lys at Wacker, and marched up the lines to the Scheld; which he also crossed at Escanasse, in order to continue his march to Ninove, giving out that he was going to the relief of Namur.

Upon advice of this motion, the Prince of Vaudemont decamped on the fourth of August from Ghent, and passing the canal at Vilvoerd, and the Burnt bridge, pitched his camp at Dighem, having his own quarters at the castle of Beaulieu. His highness sent to the French to demand the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, according to the agreement about the exchange of prisoners; but the Marshal de Villeroy, upon frivolous pretences, refused to send them back; and, contrary to the cartel, most of the soldiers were forced to enlist themselves in the French service, or were sent to Catalonia, and other remote parts.

The king, having received advice of the motions of the French army, marched, the tenth of August, early in the morning, with two troops of horse-guards, the troop of horse-grenadiers, and several squadrons of Brandenburgers, leaving the Duke of Bavaria to command the siege. The same evening his majesty reached Waterloo, and joined the troops commanded by the Earl

Earl of Athlone, Count Nassau, and the Marquis de la Forest; and, having had an interview with Prince Vaudemont, returned on the 12th to his camp before the castle of Namur, where immediately after his arrival the besiegers broke ground, and carried on their trenches about an hundred and fifty paces before the Cohorn fort, towards the Sambre, and made a good lodgement.

Besides the batteries already erected between the Sambre and the Maes, some others were ordered to be raised, both of cannon and mortars, as well in the ramparts as in the gardens of the city, in order to batter Terra-nova and fort Cohorn all at once. On the 13th, the besiegers began to play from no less than twelve batteries, when one of their bombs, falling upon the magazine of the Devil's House, blew up above 1000 granadoes, ruined a great quantity of arms, and killed and wounded several persons. The trenches were carried on with great success, though the enemy endeavoured in the night time, both with their great and small shot, to disturb the workmen. But their batteries were soon silenced by those of the English, which it is confessed on all hands made such firing as was never seen since gunpowder was invented.

Boufflers himself, being unused to this unequal way of fighting, began to wish himself in the open field, and formed a design to break through the confederates camp with his cavalry; but the king, having notice of it, ordered strong guards to be placed at all places where the Sambre could be passed; and the same was done all along the Maes by General Fleming. However, on the 18th, towards midnight, they made a sally with two hundred dragoons mounted, and five hundred grenadiers; of the latter, one hundred and fifty made the attack on the right hand, but were repulsed by the Count Rivera, and the rest on the left, where Lord Cuts had just posted the advanced guards to secure the workmen. The dragoons fell upon Lieutenant-colonel Sutton, who,

being posted in the plain of Salfine with about forty fusileers, let them come on till they were very near him, then gave them a round volley, and retreated to his body; but, the dragoons pressing upon him, he commanded his men to fire upon them. The French advanced boldly; and, had their grenadiers charged at the same time, they would undoubtedly have caused great confusion in the trenches; but the Spanish and Bavarian horse, who were near at hand, fell upon the enemy with so much vigour, that they drove them to the very palisadoes of the castle, killing some and making others prisoners.

The Marshal de Villeroy, being considerably reinforced with all the troops that could be spared out of the garrisons, and the forces from the sea-coasts, marched directly towards Namur, with an army, as the French themselves gave out, of no less than ninety thousand men, and with which they confidently boasted to raise the siege of the castle. Upon the enemies advancing from Enghien to Soignes, Prince Vaudemont, in conjunction with the Earl of Athlone, and a reinforcement of ten battalions and eighteen squadrons, which the Prince of Hesse-Cassel had brought up from the Rhine, possessed himself of the strong camp of Mazy, within five English miles of Namur.

The French army being in the mean while come as far as Flerus, they gave the besieged a signal of their approach by the discharge of ninety pieces of cannon, which was answered by a great light set on the highest part of the castle. This obliged the king to leave the care of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Holstein Ploen, and to repair to the army, with a resolution to oppose the French, who seemed now fully bent to attack him, being lately reinforced by a detachment from Germany, and other troops, under the command of the Marquis de Harcourt.

On the 29th of August Villeroy advanced towards the confederates, then still encamped near Mazy, but found

found them so well posted, that he thought fit to retire in the night without noise. The next day he moved along the Mehaigne, extending his right to Perwys, and his left to the abbey of Boneffe; whereupon his Britannic majesty caused his army to move towards Ostin and Long Champ to observe them; and sent orders to the Marquis de la Forest, who commanded a body of reserve in the plain of Boneffe, to return to the main army. The enemy, perceiving that the confederates had made a halt on the hill behind Long Champ, sent several squadrons of the French king's household over the Mehaigne, in order to charge la Forest, between whom and the French there happened a small skirmish, as far as a defile, which being secured by the dragoons of Dopst, the enemy went no farther, but repassed the Mehaigne in great haste. All these marches and countermarches of Villeroy did not hinder the king from detaching the day before three thousand grenadiers from his army, to be employed in the general assault of the castle, which his majesty had concerted with Prince Vaudemont, the Elector of Bavaria, and other general officers.

On the 30th of August, the day appointed for this memorable action, the besiegers began early to batter the breaches of Cohorn fort and Terra-nova, and continued till eleven o'clock, when his electoral highness sent Count Horn, accompanied by the Earl of Portland, to summon the besieged. The batteries having given over firing, Count Horn called to the enemy, and told Count Laumont, commander of the French foot, that the Marshal de Villeroy, after having been three days in sight of the confederate army, had thought fit to retire towards the Mehaigne without fighting; that the garrison could not expect now to be relieved; and that his electoral highness, being willing to spare the lives of so many brave men on both sides, had charged him to offer honourable terms to Count Guiscard, if he would surrender; but that he gave him but a

quarter of an hour to deliberate upon the proposals. Thereupon Count Laumont took upon him to acquaint Gussard and Boufflers with Horn's message; and promised to bring back a speedy answer; but, not returning in half an hour, Horn grew impatient, the parley was broke, and the batteries played incessantly against the breaches, till between one and two, when the general assault began in the following manner.

As soon as the signal was given, Lord Cuts, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, which were seven or eight paces distance from the breach of Terra-nova, where he was commanded to lodge himself; and Colonel Marfilly marched on his right to possess himself of the line of communication next Cohorn fort; Count Rivera, major-general of the Bavarians, with three thousand men, marched out of the trenches of the first line, in order to attack the breaches of Cohorn fort; Major-general la Cave advanced to attempt the same fort at the point; and Major-general Schwerin marched against the Casotte with two thousand Brandenburgers. The English grenadiers under Lord Cuts, borne away by their own native valour, and animated by the example of their leader, and of several English gentlemen, who exposed themselves as volunteers, ran faster towards the enemy than they could be followed by the battalions of Coulthorp, Buthan, Hamilton and Mackay, who moved from Saline to support them. The grenadiers mounted the breach without opposition, the enemy not expecting to be attacked on that side, by reason of the great distance of the trenches; but, as soon as the French saw those bold adventurers were not sustained, they brought down two thousand of their best foot and dragoons into the space between the Cohorn and the Terra-nova, to fall on the English in flank and in rear, which obliged the latter to make a speedy retreat. The besieged made a show of pursuing them; but, by this time, three of the fore-mentioned regiments being
come

come up to their assistance, the French retired through the breach of Terra-nova, after having surpris'd and defeated five hundred men under Marfilly. The English, having borne six several discharges, had several killed and wounded; and among the latter was Lord Cuts himself, who received a shot in his head, which disabled him for some time.

Whilst this passed near Terra-nova, Count Rivera, with the Bavarians, instead of marching to the left of the platform, went a little too much to the right, towards the covered way, which was well palisadoed, and thick set with musqueteers, who made a terrible fire. Through this mistake, instead of storming two small breaches of the angle of the platform, according to the scheme made for this attack, the Bavarians attempted to force the covered way before the great breach, whereby they remained exposed for two hours to the enemies double fire; which killed them abundance of men, and amongst them Count Rivera himself, with most of the officers of the Bavarian guards.

Lord Cuts was scarcely dressed of his wounds, when growing impatient of being idle, while others were still engaged, he put himself again at the head of his brave countrymen; and, observing that the Bavarians, notwithstanding the loss of their leader, had fixed themselves upon the uttermost retrenchment of the point of Cohorn next to the Sambre, and maintained that post with a great deal of obstinacy, but could not gain any more ground, he thereupon resolved to make good their attack. To effect this, he ordered that a detachment of two hundred men should be made out of such as were most forward to signalize themselves, whom he still encouraged by promises of distinguishing rewards; that those should be sustained by the regiment of Mackay; and that the other English forces should rally, and follow as soon as possible. Being come to the place of action, his lordship detached a party of the forementioned chosen men headed by Lieut. Cockle
of

of Mackay's regiment, whom he ordered to attack the face of the saliant angle next the breach sword in hand, without firing a gun; to pass the palisadoes, and enter the covered way; and there to make a lodgment if they found any place capable of it; and at the same time his lordship commanded the ensigns of Mackay's regiment to march strait to the palisadoes, and place their colours upon them. All this was so well executed, that Lieutenant Cockle, breaking through the palisadoes, beat the enemy from the covered way, lodged himself in one of their batteries, and then turned their own cannon against themselves. On the other hand, whilst Mackay's ensigns advanced to the palisadoes, the Bavarians renewed their attack with undaunted vigour; and so this post was made good. The troops were already so fatigued by an assault that had lasted several hours, that the besiegers contented themselves to have gained the covered way, before the breach of Cohorn, and the saliant angle towards the Sambre, and to have made a lodgment there, without any further attempt upon the breach. However this seasonable reinforcement, which Lord Cuts brought to the Bavarians, had this further good effect, that it kept the enemy employed in defence of this most important post; which very much facilitated Major-general la Cave's enterprise upon the covered way before the ravelin, and upper point of the Cohorn, and so up towards the Casotte, where he lodged himself without any considerable loss. On the other hand, Major-general Schweirin, who commanded the right attack of all before the Casotte, made up boldly towards the covered way and retrenchment between the Casotte and the Maes; overcame the enemies resistance; drove them from their posts, secured all the avenues, and made a very good lodgment, all along this covered way and entrenchment, of about three hundred paces; which he extended to the left, turning in towards the Cohorn, about one hundred and forty paces more, to join it to that of la

Cave, that reached to the ravelin of the Cohorn. Thus, although the besiegers miscarried in the great design of this general storm, which was to have taken the castle, with its prodigious outwork, all at once; yet they were now masters of one of the greatest lodgments that ever was made in one assault, being near an English mile in extent. Such a vast lodgment could not be done in a moment; neither could the assault, which lasted till evening, be maintained without considerable loss on both sides. The besiegers, by their own confession, had two thousand men killed, or wounded, and among them many persons of note. Count de Rivera major-general, the Colonels Coulthorp, Marsilly, Lindroot, the Baron de Heckeren, Lieutenant-col. Fabricius, and Captain Mitchel, were among the slain; and among the wounded were, Prince of Holstein Norburgh, Lord Cuts, Princes of Hesse Homburgh, Ep-pingen, Zinzenburgh, Caunits, Horne, Count Dona, Luzelburgh, Melun, Counts de Denhoff, and Hamilton; several officers of his majesty's English guards, particularly Colonels Windsor, Stanhope, Evans, and Mr. Thompson. The loss of the besieged in this action did not exceed six hundred men, either killed or wounded. The Elector of Bavaria exposed himself greatly, riding from place to place, and giving his orders where the dispute was most obstinate, animating the officers by extolling their valour, and distributing handfuls of gold among the soldiers. All the troops of the several nations behaved themselves with equal intrepidity; however it may be said, that the English were the most bold and pushing, the Bavarians most firm, and the Brandenburgishers the most successful.

The 31st of August was wholly spent by the besiegers in perfecting the lodgments they had made the day before; and in preparing all things for a second general assault; but the next day, the besieged having demanded a cessation of arms to bury their dead, which was readily granted, Count Guiscard came upon the breach

breach a little before the truce was over, and desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria. His electoral highness having mounted the breach, the count offered to surrender the Cohorn fort: but, the elector answering that if he would capitulate it must be for the whole, Guiscard replied, that Marechal Boufflers commanded in the castle, and that he would let him know; and desired that in the mean while the cessation of arms might be continued; to which his electoral highness having agreed, Boufflers consented to treat for the whole. Thereupon an adjutant was immediately dispatched, to give the king an account of it, at Ostin; which express met his majesty with the Prince of Vaudemont, then coming to the siege, in his coach, to give directions concerning a further attack. Upon his majesty's arrival, hostages were exchanged, and propositions brought from the castle, the chief of which was, that they might have ten days to expect succours. This being absolutely denied, the French, after some debates among themselves, were contented to receive such terms as the elector, with his majesty's consent, would grant them, being such as are usual upon the surrender of a strong fortress, whose garrison has made a gallant defence. The capitulation was agreed on that very night, and signed the next morning, and part of the outworks were given up presently after to the allies; the besieged having three days more allowed them to evacuate the castle.

Villeroy being informed of the surrender of the castle of Namur, retired from his camp at Gemblours, and passed the Sambre near Charleroi with great precipitation; and, having sent two thousand men to reinforce the garrison of Dinant, he marched with the rest of his army towards the lines, near Mons.

On the fifth of September, the day prefixed for the French to evacuate the castle, the horse and foot that were encamped between the Sambre and the Maes were commanded to make a line on both sides,

sides, from the breach of Terra-nova, through which the garrison was to march out up the hill, and so down again to the Maes, to the way that leads to Givet, whither it was agreed they should be safely conducted. About ten o'clock in the morning the garrison, which from fourteen thousand was reduced to five thousand five hundred and thirty-eight men, began their march. The Marshal de Boufflers's guard du corps went out first; then his domestics, and next himself, with Guiscard, the governor, at the head of the dragoons as many as were mounted, that is between eighty and ninety in all. The king was incognito in a coach, and the Elector of Bavaria, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the chief officers of the army, on horseback, to see them pass within two hundred paces of the breach, and were saluted by the French marshal and count with their swords. This civility was hardly over, when Monsieur Dyckvelt accosted Boufflers, with a message which somewhat discomposed his countenance; and, as they were riding up to the top of the hill, Monsieur de l'Etang, brigadier-general of the brigade of the life-guards, made up boldly to the marshal, with about twelve of the gentlemen of the life-guard, and arrested him in his Britannic majesty's name, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which were detained and ill treated by the French, contrary to the cartel. His confinement was not long; for upon the return of the captain of his guard, whom he sent to give the King of France an account of what had happened, and the marshal engaging his word that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back as soon as he himself should be set at liberty, his Britannic majesty ordered the governor of Maestricht to release him, and give him a guard to conduct him safe to Dinant.

The king having left the command of the army to the Elector of Bavaria, his majesty went to Dieren, and from thence to Loo, his usual recess for diversion and business; whilst both armies continued in the field till

the 25th of September, and then began to separate. The French king's household returned into their quarters, and most of the rest of his troops retired within the lines. As for the allies, their forces were distributed into several neighbouring garrisons, except some detachments which were marched towards Nieuport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. And thus the campaign in Flanders ended about the close of the month of September. The king, during his stay abroad, having settled with the States-general the state of the war for the next year, returned to England in October; and, dissolving the parliament, which then stood prorogued, called a new one, which assembled on the 22d of November following.

In the beginning of the year 1696, a double plot was discovered to assassinate the king, and invade the kingdom. Many of the adherents of the late king came over from France, and held consultations with the papists and nonjurors on the murder of King William; and, after several debates on the time, place, and manner, of executing their horrid design, they at last agreed to assassinate his majesty some day in February, as he returned from hunting, in a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the whole plot was happily discovered by Pendergrafs, the very night before it was to have been executed. It was confirmed by de la Rue, another of the conspirators, and afterwards by Capt. Porter, and others, who came in upon the proclamation for apprehending the conspirators. At the same time there was to have been an invasion from France; for which purpose James was come to Calais; and the troops, artillery, and stores, were immediately ordered to be embarked; but, by the news of the miscarriage of the assassination plot, and by the speedy sending of a formidable fleet under Admiral Ruffel, the whole design was frustrated. Several of the conspirators fled beyond sea; and, of those who were apprehended,

hended, Carnock, King, and Keys, were executed on the 18th of March; Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, on the 3d of April following; Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lowick, and Mr. Cranbourn, on the 29th. Some time after Sir John Fenwick was apprehended for that part of the plot relating to the invasion. The proof of this man's guilt could only be obtained from two witnesses, Porter and Goodmans; these two were practised upon by offers of large bribes to quit the kingdom, that the charge might fall to the ground. One of these witnesses accepted the conditions and withdrew; the other, by pretending to listen to the proposal, betrayed the whole design. The question was, whether the legislature had a right to dispense with that degree of evidence, which in the courts of law were essentially necessary at all times, in a case where the preservation of a government, and the punishment of a flagitious disturber of it, were deeply interested. The bill of attainder passed the upper house by a majority of seven votes only. Fenwick was thereupon beheaded on Tower-hill.

The design of invading England, as has been already hinted, proved equally abortive as the assassination-plot. The French king, induced by the strong assurances he received of the number and influence of the Jacobites in England, agreed to furnish an army, and every thing necessary for a descent: the troops intended for this expedition assembled about Calais and Dunkirk, and four hundred sail of great and small vessels were collected from different ports. James, however, had no sooner reached Calais, than the Duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid de camp from Flanders to King William, with an account of the blow that was meditating. Expresses, with the same tidings, arrived from the Elector of Bavaria, and the Prince of Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, Admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast, with about fifty sail of the

line. This sudden appearance of the English fleet, so contrary to the accustomed tardiness which had impeded its operations, threw the enemy into confusion; they hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water, that the English could attempt nothing against them; however, nothing could be done in transporting troops to England, so that the designs of France were effectually frustrated. James, having continued some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from whence they had been draughted, and the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star, which ruled the destiny of James, had blasted this, as it had done every other project formed for his restoration.

This year the parliament of England passed an act for the increase and encouragement of seamen, by which thirty thousand seamen were ordered to be registered, in order that they might be in readiness at all times for supplying the royal navy; these were to receive a premium of forty shillings yearly. Such registered seamen only were eligible to any commission or warrant offices in the royal navy; they were likewise entitled to a double share or dividend in all prizes. And such only, when maimed, or superannuated, were to be admitted into the newly-established hospital for seamen at Greenwich. The widows and children of such registered seamen, who might be killed in the service, were alone admissible into that hospital. By the same act sixpence per month was to be deducted from the pay of all seamen, as well serving in merchant ships as in the royal navy, for the support of Greenwich hospital. This act, so far as it relates to the registering of seamen, was repealed by an act of the 9th year of Queen Anne; and, although many plans have been proposed for the reviving of such a register, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has as yet been framed for so important a matter as that of having in constant readiness a competent number of seamen to
man

than the royal navy when the exigencies of the state call for a speedy supply of men, without having recourse to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of pressing.

His majesty went over to Holland in May; and some time after put himself at the head of the confederate army in Flanders. The French had taken the field before, with a superior force; but the allies were soon after reinforced by a body of Germans. Both armies suffered greatly for want of pay; the French, because they had no money; and the English, on account of the calling in the money to be recoined. The whole of this campaign passed over without any considerable action; for nothing more was done than each party watching the other, and striving to get the most convenient camps.

During the summer of 1696, nothing of consequence was performed at sea. Lord Berkley, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, sailed on the 24th of June for the Bay of Biscay. On the 3d of July he appeared with his squadron before the island of Groais, opposite to Port l'Orient. Here they destroyed twenty villages, containing thirteen hundred houses, and carried off a great number of horses and black cattle; he then proceed to Houat and Hedic, which lay to the south-eastward, and within a few leagues of the island of Belleisle, which they laid waste. At the same time Sir Martin Beckman was sent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the Isle of Rhé, the greatest part of which he reduced to ashes. On the 7th, the squadron, which consisted of ten men-of-war, bombarded Olonne, a town in Lower Picardy, which was set on fire in fifteen different places, with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprizes of small import, yet it ought to be remembered, that they served to keep the whole western coast of France in perpetual alarm; insomuch that 60,000 men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime parts.

In May Rear-admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up a famous naval partisan of France, named Du Bart, in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and, steering north-eastward, attacked a fleet of Dutch ships in the Baltic, which was convoyed by five frigates. The whole of the convoy he made prize of, together with near half of the merchantmen; but, on his return home with his captures, he fell in with the Dutch Baltic fleet outward bound, which had thirteen ships of the line for their convoy. As he was by no means a match for such a force, he was compelled to burn four of the frigates, to turn the fifth adrift; also several of his prizes, only fifteen of which he kept, and brought safe into the harbour of Dunkirk.

The house of commons, which met on the 20th of October, entered into an enquiry concerning the miscarriages of the fleet, which was chiefly aimed at the conduct of Sir George Rooke, who had received orders to intercept the Toulon squadron in its way to Brest, he having wintered at Cadiz; but in this attempt he miscarried. The commons, in a committee of the whole house, resolved to enquire, why this fleet was not intercepted? Rooke was examined at the bar of the house, and called upon to produce his journal, together with the instructions he received from the admiralty, and the letters which had been written to him from thence. The Admirals Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but, no imputation being fixed upon the commander in chief, the affair dropped. The house afterwards voted the sum of 2,372,197*l.* for the maintenance of 40,000 seamen, two marine regiments, the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of seamen.

The operations by sea and land, during the summer of 1697, were feeble and unimportant. All the powers of Europe, grown weary of this tedious and exhausting struggle, were well inclined to hearken to terms of peace.

peace. King William left Kensington the 24th of April, and in three days arrived at the Hague. The advances made towards a peace, at the close of the preceding summer, were improved in the winter. The king had named, in the month of December, three plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty: the French king had appointed two persons, in the like capacity, to be joined to Callieres, who had long carried on a negotiation at the Hague. The emperor, and the court of Spain, threw various objections in the way; but, these being at length over-ruled by the rest of the allies, a congress was agreed to be opened, under the mediation of Charles XI. king of Sweden; that prince dying in the mean time, the office of mediator was transferred to his son, Charles XII. a youth of no more than fifteen years of age, who, as Voltaire justly observes, was reputed an hero at an age when others have not finished their education. The ambassadors of the belligerent powers met on the 9th of May, at a house belonging to the King of England, in the neighbourhood of Ryswick, a village situated between Delft and the Hague. The maritime powers were now absolutely under the direction of the King of England, who had all along been the life and soul of the confederacy; and he had scarcely any thing to settle with France, except her acknowledgment of his right to the throne of England. Louis XIV. therefore, who had restored to the Spaniards all he had taken near the Pyrenees, in the late war; as also Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai, in Flanders, agreed to acknowledge William as lawful King of England; hitherto styled only Prince of Orange, and accounted an usurper: he promised likewise to give no assistance to his enemies. James, who was not even mentioned in the treaty, remained at St. Germain's, living on the empty title of king, and a pension from Louis. He sent nothing now against his rival but manifestoes; his protector was obliged to sacrifice him, and he was already forgotten in Europe.

Indeed, that prince had ceased to expect aid from France ever since his disappointment in the projected invasion of the preceding year. He flattered himself, in his lost condition, with other hopes : he was assured from England, that William was in a declining state of health, having a dropsical habit of body, and that his dissolution seemed to advance with hasty strides. James had formed a new scheme upon the event of his nephew's death. He resolved to return to England, though three men should not follow him, and to throw himself on the good-nature of the English nation. " It could not enter into his mind," he said, " that the people of England would treat him with indignities ;" and he looked upon the majority as well attached to his interests.

The hopes which James had formed, upon the speedy death of William, were dashed from a quarter where no check to his views was then feared. The Princess of Denmark had, for six years, maintained a correspondence with her father, in which she gave him strong assurances of her duty, and expressed her contrition for having deserted his interests. The ill state of King William's health had now awakened her ambition, and opened to her an alluring prospect of a crown. She wrote to her father upon the subject, and desired to know his pleasure, whether he would permit her to ascend the throne, according to the act of settlement, should the Prince of Orange, so she called King William, happen to die ? She accompanied this request with expressions of duty, and a seeming readiness to make restitution, when opportunity should serve. She insinuated, that should he refuse to accede to this expedient, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, he would remove himself farther from the hopes of recovering his throne. The sceptre, she said, would fall into worse hands, out of which it could not be so easily recovered. This reasoning of the princess was too refined for the temper of her father. He told

told his friends, that, though he could suffer injustice, he could never be persuaded to give it countenance: he knew, he said, that of all restrictions, none is harder to make than that of a crown: he however excused himself to his daughter; and his declared adherence to the resolution of placing himself in the hands of his former subjects, put an end to the proposal.

The Emperor of Germany was the only potentate leagued in the grand confederacy who continued to shew a hostile disposition. His backwardness to peace proceeded from the success of his arms in Hungary, under Prince Eugene of Savoy; who, on the 11th day of September, totally defeated the Turks at Zenta, a small village on the western banks of the Theysse, in the kingdom of Hungary. To the spirit and conduct of this commander, the complete victory which the Imperialists obtained is to be ascribed. The slaughter, rather than the fight, lasted from ten in the morning till late at night. The two preceding ages, though remarkable for battles, had not produced so bloody a combat. The Ottomans, broken by the enemy in the front, were at the same time attacked in the rear. In less than an hour after the first onset, resistance was at an end on the side of the Turks; but the rest of the day was spent in butchery and blood. All endeavoured to gain a bridge, which opened a communication with the opposite shore of the river, and was the only passage through which to retreat; but it was rendered impassable by the heaps of slain. To escape the fury of the sword, thousands threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. Thirty thousand were said to lie dead on the field, before night afforded safety to a few fugitives. The Turkish camp, the sultan's magnificent pavilion, the stores, the provisions, the ammunition, all the cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of the victor. The grand vizier was killed; the seal of the empire taken; the aga of the janissaries, and twenty-seven bashaws, were found

among the slain. Never was victory more complete. The peace had been signed on the 10th day of September, by all the parties in the war except the emperor; and he acceded to it on the 20th day of October.

King William, having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer.

The peace of Ryfwick gave the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular; that it did so, may appear from the numerous addresses of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, to felicitate his majesty upon that occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burthen and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French struck medals, magnifying their success in the war, and describing themselves as a match for all the rest of Europe; since if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was, that they should stoop to such a peace. But though it may be true, that in many respects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them; and as their weakness encreased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this, in a few campaigns, would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

It must therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign, and of this administration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace, all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fifth article, the free use of commerce or navigation was restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh,

seventh, all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, were restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which with any show of justice they could desire; so that by the conclusion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was re-established, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantage afforded thereby, for rectifying what was amiss in the domestic œconomy, for extending commerce, and lightening the burdens of the people.

The king opened the session of parliament on the 3d day of December, and in the speech which he delivered on that occasion he asserted, that the naval force of England was then near double what it was at his accession.

Fresh commotions in the south of Europe already seemed brooding. Charles the Second, king of Spain, though in the flower of his age, was in so declining a state of health, that his death was visibly approaching. A great dispute arose about dividing the spoils of this monarch.

In the summer of the year 1698, King William went over to Holland, where a treaty of partition was concluded between England, France, and the States, concerning the succession of the Spanish dominions, when the King of Spain should die. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with several other places, particularly those on the French side of the Pyrenees, were to be given to the dauphin of France; Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and their dominions in America, were to devolve to the electoral prince of Bavaria; and the dutchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son. In the beginning of the year 1700, a second treaty was concluded, on occasion of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, whose share was now assigned to the archduke Charles; and the Duke of Lorraine, whose country was to be given to France, was to have the duchy of Milan.

Milan. King William's design in this treaty was, doubtless, to create a proper balance of power in Europe; to prevent the too great aggrandizement of France, and a ruinous war; but he was only amused by the French king, who, though he himself proposed this partition, had, at the same time, another design in view; and made use of this treaty to accomplish it: for the Spaniards being enraged at having their monarchy thus dismembered, without their consent, Louis XIV. by his intrigues at the court of Madrid, under the pretence of preserving the Spanish monarchy entire, brought the king of Spain to sign a will, in which he made Philip duke of Anjou, Lewis's grandson, the sole heir to all his dominions.

The partition treaty, which had been entered into between England and France, gave great umbrage to the court of Spain, and the marquis de Canailles, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a memorial upon that occasion, couched in the most pointed terms of invective. William, on the receipt of this insolent paper, directed his secretary Vernon, to signify to that minister, that he must depart the kingdom in eighteen days, and at the same time ordered his ambassador at the court of Madrid, to complain of the affront offered to his person. The King of Spain hereupon avowed the conduct of his ambassador, and ordered the English minister to depart the kingdom within the same space of time.

These disputes between William and Spain, neither hastened nor retarded the second treaty of partition, which that prince concluded the next year with France. His attention was not confined to the subject of the Spanish succession, though the declining health of Charles the Second threatened Europe with those miseries which it soon after experienced. The King of England employed his good offices in suppressing a flame, which seemed ready to be kindled in the north. Christian the Fifth, king of Denmark, dying on the

4th day of September 1699, was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederic the Fourth, who inheriting the resentment, and pursuing the designs, of his father against the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, began to make great preparations both by sea and land, to reduce that prince to the terms which he prescribed. The duke, on the other hand, had strengthened his interest by a marriage with the princess-royal of Sweden; he himself was commander in chief of the troops of that kingdom, and he had obtained a force from his brother-in-law, Charles the Twelfth, to resist the attacks which might be made on him from Denmark. A private treaty had been entered into between the kings of Denmark and Poland, the elector of Brandenburg, and Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Muscovy, by which it was agreed, to strip the young Swedish monarch of the most valuable of his territories, and particular districts were therein assigned to each of the confederating powers. The King of Sweden, finding himself thus beset with enemies, addressed himself to King William, and the States-general, as guaranties of the treaties made for securing the tranquillity of the north, by maintaining a proper balance of power. All attempts to break this northern alliance against Sweden, by remonstrances, being found ineffectual, William determined on sending a fleet into the north, which should reason more forcibly than memorials or manifestoes. It was then debated in council, whether this step should be taken by the crown, without advising with the parliament, or whether the matter should be submitted to their discussion? On this point the ministry were divided, but the king's opinion determined the matter; he said, the executive part of the government was lodged in his hands, and therefore he would maintain the national faith by adhering to treaties, and acquaint the parliament therewith at their next meeting. A fleet of forty ships, English and Dutch, was therefore sent into the Baltic, with fire-ships and bomb-vessels, under the admirals

admirals Rooke and Allemonde, which arrived on the 20th day of July, at the mouth of the Sound. The fleet of Sweden, commanded by the king in person, having joined the allies, the Danish ships retired under the guns of Copenhagen. The King of Denmark was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising along the coast, while his capital was bombarded, though ineffectually, by the combined fleets of the allies. In this situation the active spirit of the young king of Sweden suggested to him the means of putting an end to the war, by one decisive stroke. He resolved to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the fleet blocked it up by sea: he made a descent at Humblebeek, opposite at Lanskroon, and was himself the first person who landed. These vigorous measures accelerated the treaty that was then negotiating. When Sir George Rooke found the Danes seriously disposed to treat, he refused to cover with his ships the operations of the Swedish army, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the 18th day of August, 1700; which left the King of Sweden at liberty to act against the czar and the King of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions at this juncture.

In the beginning of July 1700, the king went over again to Holland; and on the 29th of the same month, died the Duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seven of the prince and princess of Denmark. He died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. The king tenderly loved him, and had appointed the Earl of Marlborough his governor, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, his preceptor. His death was much lamented by the greatest part of the nation; not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but as it left the succession to the crown undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation.

Charles, king of Spain, dying towards the end of this year, the Duke of Anjou was declared king of Spain, by his grandfather Louis XIV. And the French, at the same time, overrunning the Spanish Netherlands, both King William and the States were obliged to own the Duke of Anjou's title, in order to gain time, till they were in a condition to oppose the designs of France.

The, king, who was an admirable politician, saw plainly, that the Spanish succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of Bourbon, would leave it absolutely in their power to give law to the rest of Europe, and to destroy that independency so necessary to Great-Britain and Holland, which was secured by the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the house of Austria. He saw too, that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances, and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining such a force, as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of Europe in the possession of their just rights. This induced him to engage reciprocally papists and protestants, to support each other's pretensions; for, by the grand alliance, Great-Britain and the States undertook to procure satisfaction to the pope; as on the other hand the emperor, and other catholic princes, stipulated to support the protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular objections amongst party-men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of the separate princes and powers who

who compose it must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against France in 1701 was right and well-founded, all the cavils raised against it from the party-spirit that prevailed here were equally frivolous and unjust.

His majesty, soon after his return from Holland, dissolved the parliament; and, at the same time, to please those now distinguished by the name of the church-party, made some alterations in the ministry; having first called up to the house of lords Charles Montague, by the title of earl of Halifax. The new parliament meeting in February 1701, the king, in his speech, mentioning the death of the Duke of Gloucester, recommended a farther provision in the protestant line after his death, and that of the princess Anne. The jacobites had openly exulted in an event, which they imagined would remove the principal bar to the accession of the son of James: but the protestants generally turned their eyes upon the princess Sophia; and on the 12th of June, 1701, his majesty passed the famous act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, by which the crown was limited to the above princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, and her protestant heirs. She was grand-daughter of King James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and the mother of George I. afterwards king of Great-Britain.

When the resolution was once formed to have recourse again to arms, in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was taken of the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy, his majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that followed the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the Earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved

beloved and esteemed. The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who, on the 2d of July, went on board the *Triumph* in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was quickly joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson, John Benbow, Esq. and Sir John Munden; he was speedily joined by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of Lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, Vice-admiral Vandergoes, and Rear-admiral Waessenare. The fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of August, for want of provisions; and, when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was obliged to put into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he sailed again; and on the 2d of September he detached Vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West-Indies; and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing of itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships, under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, besides frigates, under Rear-admiral Waessenare, to see the West-India squadron well into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean; and indeed, to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to gain an exact account of its strength; the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his instructions for some time, and then returned, with the largest ships, into the Downs.

After this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the Earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral of England. The design of this promotion was, to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly well; for his lordship immediately sent away Captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out; as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain, with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed. His lordship also took the like care of our trade in other parts; and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very easy of access, gave much more satisfaction both to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, since they were first introduced, had ever done.

Whilst the aspect of affairs menaced Europe with all the horrors of war, a triple alliance was concluded at the Hague, between the Emperor of Germany, the King of England, and the republic of Holland. The tendency of this treaty, was to secure to the emperor the Spanish succession, and to the maritime powers their dominions and commerce. It was thereby stipulated, that the parties engaged in this treaty should use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands on the coast of Tuscany, belonging to the Spanish dominions, should be attacked for the emperor. It was farther agreed, that the king of England and the States-General should keep and possess whatever settlements they might wrest from the Spaniards in the West-Indies: that the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another; that

that no one power should treat of peace or truce, but jointly with the rest: that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: that, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers, to the dominions which might be taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier: that they should at the same time assist each other with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: that a defensive alliance should remain with them even after the peace: that all kings, princes, and states, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded, and stipulated that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified. The Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, for the services which he had rendered the common interests of the German empire, and the grand alliance thus formed against France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe, was by the interest of his kinsman, King William, acknowledged by most of the princes and states of Europe, as King of Prussia.

In the beginning of September, 1701, the abdicated James, being according to his daily custom, at public prayers, he fell suddenly into a lethargy; and, though he recovered his senses soon after, he languished for some days, and expired on the 6th of September. The French king, with great humanity, paid him several visits during his sickness; and exhibited every symptom of compassion, affection, and every respect. Louis, being under a difficulty how to proceed upon the unexpected death of James, called a council to take their advice whether he should own the Prince of Wales as King of Great Britain and Ireland. The king himself had hesitated long in this delicate point. But the

dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the princes of the blood, declared, that it was unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France not to own that the titles of the father devolved immediately upon the son. Louis approved of this resolution, and determined to acquaint the dying king with it in person. When he arrived at St. Germain's, he acquainted first the queen, and then her son, of his design. He then approached the bed in which James lay almost insensible with his disorder. The king, rousing himself, began to thank his most Christian majesty for all his favours; but Louis interrupted him. "Sir (said he), what I have done is but a small matter; but what I have to say is of the utmost importance." The people then began to retire. "Let no person withdraw (said Louis). I come to acquaint you, sir, that, when God shall please to call your majesty from this world, I shall take your family into my protection, and acknowledge your son, as he then will certainly be, King of Great Britain and Ireland." This being publicly proclaimed, in direct violation of the peace of Ryswick, Lord Manchester, the English ambassador, was instantly recalled from France, and the French ambassador ordered forthwith to leave London; but no formal declaration of war ensued.

The King of England however determined to take the field early in the next spring, and settled with the United Provinces, in the capacity of stadtholder, the operations of the campaign. The emperor indeed pressed him to break immediately with France; but he had lately suffered so much from the refractoriness of the English house of commons, that he prudently declining entering upon hostilities without their approbation and aid.

King William arrived in England in November to meet a new parliament, which was to assemble on the 30th day of December, on which occasion he delivered an excellent speech to both houses, on the posture of
public

public affairs; the conduct of the French king; the dangers that threatened Europe by a grandson of Louis XIV. possessing the throne of Spain; and informed them of the alliances he had entered into, with a view to avert the impending dangers. This speech was received with universal applause; and was so much admired by the friends of liberty and the revolution, that it was printed, with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French, languages; and was hung up in all their houses, as the king's last legacy to his own and all Protestant people.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution; and it was by this time almost exhausted by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or at least to conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On the 21st of February 1702, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him; and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace at Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced; and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture; and the bones were again replaced by Bidloo his physician. This in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune; but to him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep on his couch he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, that soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay next to his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from Archbishop Tennison, he expired on March 8th; having lived 52 years, and reigned 13.

William

William III. was of a middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution; subject to an asthma, and continual cough, from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was naturally taciturn; and when he spoke his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. "He left," says Voltaire, "the reputation of a great politician, though he was never popular; and of a formidable general, though he lost many battles." The truth is, never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness; and, whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of the nation, they ought to be imputed to the circumstances of the times, and the party-spirit which divided the nation, rather than to the king's misconduct. He was acquainted with most of the European languages, yet could not speak any one with elegance, for he was a man of more judgment and reflection than imagination; he had an utter dislike to flattery, herein, as in most other parts of his character, being strongly contrasted to Louis XIV. Though he ascended the throne of England by the urgent invitation of all parties in the nation, yet he reigned without being beloved; for which many causes may be assigned: by his birth, education, and connections, he was a Dutchman; predilection therefore for his countrymen could not fail of making him enemies among the English nobility; add to this, that he could never appear delighted with those he despised. "There was a simplicity, an elevation, and an utility, in all the actions of William's life. The last treaty which he signed was the grand alliance; the last act of parliament that he passed, was one which completed the security of the Hanover succession; and the last message he sent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between two parts of the island

island which had been too long divided." That the Seven United Provinces did not lose their liberty by being conquered by France; that this island did not sink into the most abject slavery; that the protestant religion was not abolished by law in every country in Europe, appears, under God, to have been owing to him. To him it is owing, that mankind now see the singular spectacle of a monarchy, in which the sovereign derives a degree of greatness and security from the liberty of his people, which treasures and arms cannot bestow upon other princes. In his private character he was religious, temperate, just, sincere, and a stranger to violent gusts of passion.

The English East-India company, about the year 1690, erected Fort-William at Calcutta, and which seems to have been the first place of strength which they provided in those parts. They had been long settled on the banks of the Ganges, in the kingdom of Bengal. Their first factory in that kingdom was at the town of Hugelley, on a river of the same name, which is a branch of the Ganges, one hundred and sixty miles from its mouth. The fort and garrison established at Calcutta were designed to afford protection to the company's vessels coming down that river from Patna, laden with piece-goods, raw silk, and saltpetre, those being the principal staple-commodities of Bengal. Soon after Calcutta had been made the mart of the English Bengal trade, the Dutch established themselves at Hugelley, where they built a noble fort and factory for the like trade, and also for Bengal stuffs, calicoes, cotton, and muslin, for the European markets; as also for opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.

Near the end of William's reign the two East-India companies were united, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein Lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and Lord Halifax for the new. By this instrument

strument it was agreed, that the old company's stock in the funds should be transferred to the new; and that the old company should purchase of the new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the capital of the united companies. The old company were likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years, each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be styled *Managers of the United Trade to India*; and after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its style, and to be called, *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*; and this agreement was the foundation of that compact, which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since.

The year 1693 is memorable for the first establishment of the present corporation of the Bank of England. Many proposals and schemes had been offered to the public for the institution of a national Bank. The only considerable Banks in Europe then subsisting were, those of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburgh. The ends proposed in forming this company were, the accommodation of the commercial part of the nation, and rendering assistance to government. William Paterfon, a merchant, formed the plan of this Bank, which was brought to effect by Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The disaffected party opposed this establishment, alleging, it would engross the money, stock, and riches, of the kingdom. After very warm debates an act was passed, for granting several rates and duties on tonnage of ships, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompences, &c. to such persons as should voluntarily advance

advance 1,500,000*l.* it was thereby enacted, that their majesties might grant a commission to take particular subscriptions for 1,200,000*l.* part of the said 1,500,000*l.* (the ministry being unwilling to trust the whole to this new scheme,) of any persons, natives or foreigners, whom their majesties were thereby impowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of 100,000*l.* viz. 96,000*l.* for interest at 8 per cent. until redeemed, and 4000*l.* to be allowed the intended bank for charges of management. The corporation to have the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. This fund to be redeemable upon a year's notice, after the 1st of August 1705, and payment of the principal, and then the corporation to cease. The company were enabled to purchase lands; their stock was to be transferable: they were restrained from owing, at any one time, more than 1,200,000*l.* unless empowered by future acts of parliament. The dealings of this company were confined to bills of exchange, buying and selling of bullion, gold or silver; or the sale of any merchandize which might be pledged to them for money lent thereon, and which remained unredeemed at the time agreed upon, or within three months after. The corporation was restrained from lending any money to government, by way of loan or anticipation on any branch of the revenue, unless warranted so to do by parliament. This clause was probably inserted to guard against the evil which arose from Charles II. having shut up the exchequer, wherein the bankers money was deposited, and which they had, from time to time, advanced to him by way of anticipation of his revenues. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened, and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than 720,000*l.* of the money subscribed. This institution had continued only three years before many circumstances concurred to involve the infant

bank of England in difficulty and distress. Among the causes of these embarrassments may be reckoned, an ill-judged scheme for a land bank in England, which proved abortive; the deficient funds for the annual supplies; and the bad state of the silver coinage. Their notes, at the time we are now speaking of, were at a discount of fifteen and twenty per cent. for such was the company's necessity, that they could pay those notes only by ten per cent. once in a fortnight, and at length no more than three per cent. once in three months were paid upon them. This extreme want of cash in the bank arose from their having taken the clipped and otherwise diminished silver money at the legal value, and also guineas at thirty shillings, for which they issued their notes, payable on demand, which occasioned them to be much pressed, until they received from the mint a sufficient quantity of the new silver coin to enable them to answer the daily demands made upon them for their outstanding notes. These distresses obliged the bank to make two different calls of twenty per cent. each, on their members in the year 1696, and to issue bank sealed-bills, bearing six per cent. interest, in exchange for bank cash-notes. Such was the distress of the times, that the bank was obliged to call in all monies which they had advanced on mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other security. But these difficulties were greatly removed as soon as the new coinage was completed; but the entire restoration of the credit of the bank of England was effected by an act of parliament commonly known by the title of the "second subscription or engrafting act;" whereby an additional duty was laid on salt, and the other duties were extended to a longer term, in order to make up a general fund for past deficiencies. The subscribers to the capital of 1,200,000*l.* were paid their principal, and the interest which had been made thereby; and a new capital of 5,160,459*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* besides the current service of the

the year 1697, was established. The bank was thereupon empowered to issue an additional number of notes, equal to the amount of this new subscription; and, in case such notes were not discharged upon demand, the exchequer was subjected to the payment of them, out of the first money which should become due to the bank. The same act confirmed the charter granted to the bank until the year 1710, when, upon one year's notice given, it might be revoked. In a few months after this provision was made for the bank, the stock, which had before been greatly below par, suddenly rose to 112, so that those, who had possessed themselves of large quantities of bank stock when it was reduced to its lowest ebb, gained immensely in a very short time; "Whereby," says Mr. Anderson, "the greatest estates were raised in the least time, and the most of them, that had been known in any age, and in any part of the world. Sir Gilbert Heathcote is said to have gained thereby above 60,000l."

About this time also Mr. Montague first set on foot a new circulating paper credit, by issuing bills from the exchequer; at the same time contracting for their being circulated for ready money on demand. As many of those first exchequer bills were for sums so low as five pounds and ten pounds, they were of great use, whilst the scarcity of silver, occasioned by the recoinage, continued. As they were taken at the exchequer for all payments of the revenue, and as when re-issued they were allowed seven pounds twelve shillings per cent. interest, they soon rose from a small discount to be better than par. They have since been issued yearly, and the bank of England has constantly, for many years past, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which purpose the bank takes annual subscriptions for enabling them to circulate them.

In 1695 an act was passed, establishing a trading company to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, build cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years from all duties or imposts. This act was afterwards confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the parliament, without any farther warrant from the crown. This scheme was projected by Paterfon, the same man who had formed the plan of the bank: he had farther in view the forming a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, in such a manner as to open a trade to the South-Sea, and across it, even to the East-Indies. The design was supported by the gentry and merchants of Scotland; but it ultimately proved ruinous to that country. It was said to have been privately encouraged by the interlopers in the English East-India trade, who, finding the company supported by government, endeavoured to serve themselves by these means.

Next year the king created a new and standing council for commerce and plantations, commonly styled *the lords commissioners for trade and plantations*; one of whom was the celebrated Mr. John Locke. This establishment owed its rise to the loud complaints which the merchants of England carried to the throne, of the captures which had been made by the French of their ships, in consequence of the little regard that was paid to the trade and commerce of the kingdom by the board of admiralty. From the year 1673, when the former standing council of commerce was dropped, until this time, all disputes and regulations respecting commerce, and the American colonies, were usually referred to committees of the privy-council; but such occasional committees, being a constantly-varying set of members, and having no stated appointment for transacting such concerns, were not introduced

duced to bestow that attention upon them which their importance merited. It was therefore found highly expedient to establish a regular and permanent board for such important ends, our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as most branches of our home trade and of our numerous manufactures, being now greatly increased and improved. This new board was composed of a first lord commissioner (who has ever since usually been a peer of the realm) and of seven other commissioners, each having a salary of 1000*l.* a year.

Another act, passed the same session, was intended for farther enforcing and improving the acts of navigation, and for preventing of frauds and other abuses in the plantation trade. It was thereby enacted, "that all ships trading to and from our Asian, African, or American, plantations or settlements, shall be English, Irish, or plantation-built; and that their cargoes shall be either English, Irish, or plantation property, and shall be registered as such, &c. and as our North-American colonies had now risen into consequence, it was therein enacted, "that no charter-proprietor of lands on the continent of America shall sell or otherwise dispose of them to any other than natural-born subjects, without the king's license in council for that purpose."

Towards the latter end of this reign, Captain Dampier, in the king's ship the *Roebuck*, having sailed into the South-Sea upon new discoveries, after various adventures, sailed round the easternmost coast of New-Guinea, and discovered a large island to the northward, which he named New-Britain. This navigator, in passing between New-Britain and New-Guinea, discovered several small islands to which he gave names.

In the 11th year of King William's reign an act passed, respecting the Newfoundland trade and fishery: thereby all British subjects were authorized to trade thither, and to fish on its banks. By the same statute

it

it was ordained, that the first fishing-ship that should arrive at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland should be deemed admiral there for that season: the second ship so arriving should be vice-admiral; and the third, rear-admiral: which three admirals were empowered to decide controversies concerning places or stations in harbours, stages, cockrooms, &c. there. Every by-boat keeper there was directed to carry with him two fresh men in every six; one of whom should have made but one voyage, and the other should have never been at sea before. To render this fishery yet a farther nursery for seamen, every inhabitant was required to employ two such fresh men in every boat kept by them. Also every master of a fishing-ship was directed to carry with him one man that had never been at sea before, for every five sailors on board his vessel.

The revenue of the post-office of England has been deemed a pretty certain criterion by which to judge of the state of commerce in the nation; the net revenue from whence, in 1699, is said to have been, 90,504l. 16s. 6d.

The same year, according to Dr. D'Avenant, the exports from all England into

foreign parts, amounted to	-	£6,788,166
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Whereof, the value of our woollen manufactures alone was	2,932,292l.
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The value of the imports was	-	5,640,506
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Balance in favour of England,	-	£1,147,660
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Chelsea hospital was begun by Charles II. carried on by James II. and completed by William III. The first protector of this magnificent structure was Sir Stephen Fox, grandfather to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. "He could not bear," he said, "to see the common soldiers, who had spent their strength in our service, reduced to beg;" and to this humane project he contributed 13,000l. It was built by

by Sir Christopher Wren, on the scite of an old college, which had escheated to the crown. The north front opens into a piece of ground laid out in walks; and that facing the south into a garden extending to the Thames. In the centre of this edifice is a pediment, supported by four Tuscan columns, over which is a turret. On one side the entrance is the chapel, and on the other the hall where the pensioners dine. In this hall is the picture of Charles II. on horseback. The altar-piece in the chapel is adorned with the resurrection, painted by the celebrated Ricci. The wings join the chapel and hall to the north, and are open on the Thames to the south: they are three hundred and sixty feet in length, eighty in breadth, and three stories high. A colonnade extends along the side of the hall and chapel; and, in the midst of the quadrangle, is the statue of Charles II. Two other large squares adjoining contain apartments for the servants of the house, for old maimed officers, and the infirmary. The pensioners consist of veterans, who have been at least twenty years in the army; or of disabled soldiers. They wear red coats lined with blue, and are provided with all other clothes, diet, washing, and lodging. The out-pensioners amount to upwards of eight thousand, and have each 7l. 12s. 6d. a year. These expences are supported by a poundage deducted out of the pay of the army, with one day's pay, once a year, from each officer and common soldier; and, when there is any deficiency, by a sum voted by parliament. This hospital, which cost 150,000l. is unquestionably a noble monument of national gratitude and humanity. It has been suggested, however, that, if there were no such local establishment, the saving of the vast expences incurred by it would enable government to make a much more comfortable provision for all our brave veterans as out-pensioners; who, in that case, instead of being collected in an hospital, far from the tender "charities of father, son,

son, and brother," might more happily spend the evening of life in the cottages of their families. And, were the salaries of the officers reduced as the nature and design of an hospital require, that is to say, were the principal officers such as would be contented to live as gentlemen only, and not as persons of high rank and distinction, emulating, as some have heretofore done, the first quality in the kingdom, luxury would not have dared to shew its face in walls consecrated to charity; nor would there have needed so great a part of the structure to be taken up in houses of officers, some of them resembling palaces more than what they are. Plain and neat, in our opinion, should ever be the distinguishing characteristics of houses thus devoted; and those who would not have been so satisfied should not either have sought or accepted of the offices; much less should any of these offices have been made sinecures.

Greenwich hospital stands on the site of an ancient royal palace. The first wing, erected by Charles II. in 1666, was designed for the same use. King William gave this palace for the use of disabled English seamen and their children, and for the widows and children of such as were slain at sea. He also appointed commissioners for the better carrying on her excellent intentions; and therein desired the assistance of his good subjects, as the necessity of his affairs did not permit him to advance so considerable a sum towards this work as he desired. In conformity to this request, many benefactions were made in that and the succeeding reigns to this noble charity, which, according to the tables hung up at the entrance of the hall, amount to £8,209l. The first range had cost Charles II. 36,000l. and another was ordered to be built on the same model: this was completed with equal magnificence. The front to the Thames consists of these two ranges of stone buildings, with the ranger's house at the back part in the centre, behind which the park rises with a noble ascent. These wings, between which is a large area,

are each terminated by a very noble dome. In each front to the Thames, two ranges of coupled Corinthian columns support their pediments, and the same order is continued in pilasters along the building. The projection of the entablatures gives an agreeable diversity of light and shade. In the centre of each part, between these ranges of Corinthian columns, is the door, of the Doric order, and adorned with above with a tablet and pediment. Within the height of these lofty columns are two series of windows enlightening two floors. The undermost, which are the smallest, have rustic cases crowned with pediments: the upper series, which are large and lofty, are adorned with the orders, and with upright pointed pediments. Over these is an attic story; the entablature of the Corinthian columns and pilasters supports a regular Attic course; the pilaster of this order rising over every column and pilaster of the Corinthian below, between which the windows are regularly disposed; and the top is covered with a balustrade.

The buildings, which are continued on from these, and face the area, correspond with them, though in a more elegant manner. In the centre of both is a range of columns supporting a pediment, and at each corner a range of Corinthian pilasters. The front is rusticated, and there are two series of windows. The domes at the end, which are 120 feet high, are supported on coupled columns, as are the porticos below; and under one of these is the chapel. The chapel was destroyed, on the 2d of January 1779, by a dreadful fire, which likewise consumed the great dining-hall, and eight wards, containing the lodgings of near 600 people. The whole, however, has been since rebuilt; at an expence of 84,000*l*. The portal consists of an architrave, frieze, and cornice of statuary marble, the jambs of which are twelve feet high, in one piece, and enriched with excellent sculpture. The frieze is the work of Bacon, and consists of the figures of two

angels with festoons, supporting the sacred writings. The great folding-doors are of mahogany highly enriched, and the whole composition of this portal is not, at this time, to be paralleled in this or perhaps in any other country. Within this entrance is a portico of six fluted marble columns fifteen feet high. The capitals and bases are Ionic, after Greek models. The columns support the organ-gallery, and are crowned with an entablature and balustrade enriched with suitable ornaments. On the tablet in the front of the gallery is a basso relievo, representing the figures of angels sounding the harp; on the pedestals, on each side, are ornaments consisting of trumpets and other instruments of music. In this gallery is a very fine organ made by Green. On each side of the organ-gallery are four grand columns; their shafts of scagliola in imitation of Sienna marble, by Richter, and their capitals and vases of statuary marble. At the opposite end of the chapel are four others of the same sort, which support the arched ceiling and roof. The columns are of the Corinthian order, and, with their pedestals, are twenty-eight feet high. On the sides of the chapel, between the upper and lower range of windows, are the galleries, in which are pews for the officers and their families: those of the governor and lieutenant-governor, which are opposite each other, are distinguished by ornaments consisting of the naval crown, and the other suitable insignia. Underneath these galleries, and the cantilivers which support them, are ranges of fluted pilasters. The cantilivers are decorated with antique foliage; the entablature over the pilasters with marine ornaments; the intervals between with festoons, &c. and the pedestals of the balustrade in the front of the galleries with tridents and wreaths. The tablets in the middle of each balustrade contain the hospital's arms, and the frieze below is carved with a foliage in the Greek mode. Over the lower range of windows are paintings in *chiaro oscuro*, representing

ing some of the principal events in the life of our Saviour, which are accompanied with ornaments of candelabra and festoons. Above the galleries is a richly-carved stone fascia, on which stands a range of pilasters of the composite mode, their shafts being of scagliola, corresponding with those of the eight great columns, and jointly with them appearing to support the epistylum, which surrounds the whole chapel. This epistylum is enriched with angels, bearing festoons of oak-leaves, dolphins, shells, and other applicable ornaments. From this rises the curved ceiling, which is divided into compartments, and enriched with foliage, golochi, &c. in the antique stile. The communion-table is a semi-oval slab of statuary marble, near eight feet long, supported by six cherubims, standing on a white marble step of the same dimensions. Above is a painting, by West, in a superb carved-and-gilt frame, representing the preservation of St. Paul from shipwreck on the island of Melita: the sea and wrecked ship appear in the back ground, and combine to exhibit a scene that cannot fail of having a proper effect on the minds of sea-faring men, and of impressing them with a due sense of their past preservation, and their present comfortable situation and support in this glorious asylum for naval misfortunes and naval worth. The middle of the aisle, and the space round the organ-gallery, are paved with black and white marble, in golochi, frets, and other ornaments; having in the centre an anchor and seaman's compass. The pulpit is on a circular plan, supported by six fluted columns of lime-tree, with an entablature above richly carved, and of the same materials. In the six inter-columns are alto-relievs, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, executed after designs by West. The reader's desk is formed on a square plan, with columns at the four corners, and the entablature over them similar to those of the pulpit; in the four inter-columns are also alto-relievs of the prophets Daniel, Micah,

Zechariah, and Malachi, after designs by the same artist. --- Several paintings in chiaro oscuro, relative to our Saviour, are placed over the lower windows. The apostles and evangelists in the recesses between the upper windows, and the four prophets in the circles above the gallery-doors, are after designs of Mr. West. On the sides of the gate which opens to these buildings from the park, are placed a large terrestrial and celestial globe, in which the stars are gilt; and in the centre of the area is a statue of George II.

The hall of the hospital is painted by Sir James Thornhill. In the centre of the cupola is a compass, with its proper points duly bearing; in the covering are the four winds in alto-relievo. Over each of the three doors are large oval tables, with the names, in gold letters, of such benefactors as have given 100l. or upwards toward the building; and at each table is a representation, as large as life, of two charity-boys, as if carved in white marble, sitting on great corbels, pointing up to the figure of Charity, in a niche, intimating that what money is given there is for their support. --- For the maintenance of this hospital, every seamen in the royal navy, and in the service of the merchants, pays 6d. a month. There are at present near 2000 old or disabled seamen; and 100 boys, the sons of seamen, are instructed in navigation, and bred up to the royal navy: but there are no out-pensioners. Each of the marines has a weekly allowance of seven loaves weighing 16 ounces each; three pounds of beef, two of mutton, a pint of pease, a pound and a quarter of cheese, two ounces of butter, fourteen quarts of beer, and one shilling tobacco-money: the tobacco-money of the boatswains is half-a-crown a week each; that of their mates 1s. 6d. and that of the other officers in proportion to their rank: besides which, each common pensioner receives, once in two years, a suit of blue, a hat, three pair of stockings, two pair of shoes, three shirts, &c.

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